7-2021

Victim or Offender? The Response to Sexually Exploited Minors

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VICTIM OR OFFENDER? THE RESPONSE TO SEXUALLY EXPLOITED MINORS

by

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A DISSERTATION

Presented to the Faculty of

The Graduated College of the University of Nebraska

In Partial Fulfillment of Requirements

For the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Major: Psychology

Under the Supervision of Dr. Richard L. Wiener

Lincoln, Nebraska

July 2021

VICTIM OR OFFENDER? THE RESPONSE TO SEXUALLY EXPLOITED MINORS

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University of Nebraska, 2021

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Despite US Federal legislation mandating legal professionals treat anyone under the age of 18 involved in commercial sex acts as a victim and not an offender of prostitution, US States differ in their treatment of sexually exploited youth. One potential explanation for the differing treatment of sex trafficked youth could arise from the decision-makers emotional reaction towards these youth. Thus, I conducted two experiments to explore the impact of negative moral emotions on decisions involving child sex trafficking under varying case fact patterns. In Experiment 1, I manipulated youth sex, vulnerability background, and prior arrest history, and trafficker sex to determine under what circumstances emotions influence child sex trafficking decisions. Two different paths emerged depending on the youth's sex, such that participants reported greater victim responsibility and greater negative moral emotions towards Chris (male youth) when he had a prior arrest for a commercial sex act, which in turn predicted a lower likelihood and certainty in recommending social services over legal consequences, but only when he was trafficked by a female. For the female youth ("Sarah"), participants reported lower believability ratings when she had a prior arrest for commercial sex acts, which in turn predicted a lower likelihood and certainty in recommending social services over legal consequences, regardless of trafficker sex. Experiment 2 sought to combat the emotional biases by engaging participants in one of four emotion regulation conditions. Similar to

Experiment 1, I manipulated youth prior arrest history and vulnerability background in addition to the emotion regulation manipulation for the female youth and male trafficker vignette. Unlike Experiment 1, I failed to find any effects for prior arrest history, but I did find that participants who were instructed to suppress their emotions significantly reduced their negative moral emotions between Time 1 and Time 2, which in turn predicted a greater likelihood of recommending social services over legal consequences. Future directions and limitations are discussed.

Acknowledgements

I would like to extend my sincere gratitude to several people who helped me on this journey. First, a thousand thanks to my advisor, Dr. Richard Wiener. Rich's consistent guidance gave me the courage and confidence to pursue my intellectual interests. He provided the perfect amount of support to allow me to try things on my own, but I always knew he would be there to answer my many questions and quiet my concerns. This dissertation would not have been possible without Rich – thank you! I would also like to thank Dr. Margaret Stevenson. Maggie pushed me to pursue a PhD in the first place, and without her encouragement I likely would have pursued a different career path. Thank you, Maggie!

I would like to thank my committee – Dr. David Hansen, Dr. Katy Holland, and Anna Shavers. Your comments and questions pushed me to achieve a higher standard of scholarly work, while your compliments reminded me that I can, in fact, complete a PhD. Thank you!

To my friends who helped us create a home ten hours away from our family – Jamie, Jorge, Madi, Tylor, Chris, Zain, Alex, and many others – thank you! You all contributed to a needed balance in my life, which allowed me to decompress, destress, and refocus on my work.

To my friends who never failed to answer a phone call to remind me I have what it takes – Emily, Elizabeth, Kristen – thank you! Even though we were far away, I knew your backing would carry me through. There is no doubt that I could not have achieved what I have without your love and support. I owe much of this to you.

I would like to extend an enormous amount of thanks to Megan, Julie, and Trace. I have lost count of how many questions I have asked you. You always provided support, encouragement, and corrections when I needed them. You all kept me sane and my head afloat. I needed you, and I appreciate you. I never plan to lose the net I have in you three.

To my sibling in-laws – Mason, Kenzie, Brent, Seth, Kieran – thank you. I view all of you as my actual sibling rather than an in-law. Your support for me and for my siblings and Morgan provides much needed comfort for everyone. Thank you!

To my siblings – Tia, Tara, Trey – thank you. I have looked up to all of you my whole life. Your humor, love, and care reminded me that I am valued. I always wanted to make you all proud. I also knew you would always cheer me along every step of the way, and that helped more than you could ever know.

I would like to thank my grandparents – Richard and Becky Hume, Bruce and Nancy Lake, and Phil and Vivian Taylor. You have all felt the pride I want to one day feel in myself – your comments, cards, and voices of encouragement make me feel like I am doing right by all of you. That is all I ever want to do. You raised wonderful children, who specifically raised me into the woman I am today. Granny and Pappoo – I wish we

could celebrate together. But we will get to someday. That fact gets me through my rough days.

To my mother in-law, Arleen Petty. Thank you for everything you have done. First, you loved me for who I was. You and I bonded over baking, psychology, academia, and you always expressed interest in my work. I cannot express how much that meant to me. Second, you raised an amazing human. He is the perfect person for me, and so much of that is due to you.

Isaac Newton said, “If I have seen further than others, it is by standing upon the shoulders of giants.” There is no doubt that my giants have been my parents. Terry and Tricia Wornica – I could never express what your love has given me. I have never once doubted your faith in me. Even when I doubted my own confidence, I knew you believed in me. I knew you thought there was nothing I could not do. That unwavering support provided a significant boost to my self-esteem – enough to where I convinced myself that I could do anything I set my mind too. You never once made me feel like I could not reach the stars, even if I were only aiming for the moon.

To my love, my partner, my husband, Morgan. It was all for you. You have been the one shining constant in my life. You selflessly put your life on hold so I could pursue my dreams. I cannot ever express how much that means to me. I will work every day, as hard as I can, to show you how much I appreciate you and your love. You are my partner. You listen to my concerns, my questions, my complaints, and you take it all in with such composure I could only dream to have. You are the hero in all my stories. You have given me such security and safety, I never felt like I would hit the ground with you carrying me. I owe everything I am and ever will be to you. I love you.

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INTRODUCTION

Nicolette was 12 years old when she was arrested for prostitution in New York City (In re. Nicolette R., 2004). This was not the first time Nicolette was arrested for prostitution; she was previously arrested in another city, but her trafficker bailed her out. This time, she was convicted as a juvenile delinquent for prostitution and placed in a secure detention facility (In re. Nicolette R., 2004, p. 270). At the time of her disposition, New York's age of consent was 17 years old. How can a 12-year-old not legally consent to sexual activity, yet still be convicted for prostitution? Indeed, Nicolette was not legally able to consent to sex, yet, according to New York, she was able to sell herself (In re. Nicolette R., 2004).

Unfortunately, this outcome is not uncommon for sexually exploited minors. Indeed, the average age of entry for child prostitution is between 12 and 14 (Smith et al., 2009). Despite federal efforts to combat child sex trafficking, discrepancies still exist regarding the treatment of youth sex trafficking victims. This dissertation begins with an overview of child sex trafficking and an introduction to the federal and state responses to combat child sex trafficking (Chapter 1), highlighting the differences between federal and state policies. Chapter 2 theorizes that the basis for decision disparity in these cases rests with the decision maker's view of sexually exploited minors. Are they victims of sex trafficking or are they offenders of prostitution? Several factors can influence the ways in which people view sexually exploited minors, including their emotional reactions toward these youth (Chapter 3). Chapters 4 and 5 describe two experiments which examined how a person's emotional response to a sexually exploited youth influenced whether he or she recommended social services over legal consequences for CSTVs. Chapter 6 explores the

implications of the results for theory and practice, as well as the limitations and future directions for both studies. Ultimately, this dissertation provides evidence to further our understanding of how individuals make decisions about CSTVs.

CHAPTER 1: CHILD SEX TRAFFICKING OVERVIEW

According to the Trafficking Victim Protection Act (2000), child sex trafficking refers to a commercial sex act in which an offender induces by force, fraud, or coercion a youth under the age of 18 to engage in that act. Although this definition applies to both international and domestic child sex trafficking, this dissertation focused on domestic child sex trafficking, which is the sexual exploitation of native minors in the United States for financial gain (Butler, 2015; Kotrla & Wommack, 2011). Traffickers violate the act if they sexually exploit minors through various means, including prostitution, pornography, stripping, and working in massage parlors (Kotrla & Wommack, 2011). This dissertation focused on the public perceptions of the legal response to prostituted minors.

The terminology used to describe sexually exploited children can significantly influence the way individuals perceive these children. Indeed, while various legal agencies in the United States use the terms child, juvenile, or teen prostitute, some research suggests this language is a form of textual abuse (Goddard et al., 2005). In this context, textual abuse refers to language that exploits children involved in commercial sex acts by minimizing the seriousness of the crimes committed against them. Additionally, the use of child, juvenile, or teen prostitute labels fails to acknowledge the violation of the child's rights and implies commonalities between adult prostitution and child prostitution, resulting in a failure to identify the victimization of the child (Goddard et al., 2005). Therefore, this dissertation used the terms child sex trafficking victims (CSTVs) or sexually exploited minors, children, or teens, adopting the language used in

the TVPA (2000). Additionally, I use the terms sex traffickers or pimps to refer to those who sexually exploit children through prostitution.

1.1 Child Sex Trafficking Overview

Roughly 100,000 to 300,000 minors are victims of commercial sexual exploitation in the United States each year (Butler, 2015; Mir, 2013). The hidden nature of the crime and the reluctance of victims to cooperate with law enforcement agencies makes it difficult to estimate the exact number of exploited youths. Indeed, when state agencies identify and investigate minors involved in prostitution, they often treated the situation as a public nuisance crime rather than an instance of child victimization (Reid & Jones, 2011). Contrary to popular belief, most sexually exploited minors are native-born, rather than foreign-born, youth (Butler, 2015). The average age of children who are coerced into the commercial sex industry is between 12 and 14, although there is evidence to suggest this age is younger for boys (Estes & Weiner, 2001; Reid & Jones, 2011). Unfortunately, evidence also suggests the average age of entry is plummeting. Indeed, there has been a dramatic increase in the availability of pornographic images involving the sexual battering of children, including infants (DeMarco, 2004; Reid & Jones, 2011). Furthermore, there is a link between trafficking children for prostitution and trafficking children for pornography, such that the declining age of children featured in pornography may lower the average age of entry for children forced into sex trafficking (Reid & Jones, 2011). Adding to this problem is an increasing demand of "virgins" (i.e., prepubescent children) because of the growing fear of individuals contracting AIDS or other sexually transmitted infections (Fang, 2005).

While girls are more likely to be victims of sex trafficking, boys can also be victims and often face greater obstacles in obtaining help and rehabilitative treatment (Cole, 2018). Indeed, one study surveying service providers' perceptions of sex trafficking victims found that male and female victims share similar vulnerability factors and experience similar trafficking tactics to maintain control over them. The service providers did not distinguish between male and female victims' needs or the agencies that provide survivor services (Cole, 2018). However, there were differences in treatment such that prosecutors charged male victims with criminal offenses significantly more often than female victims (Cole, 2018). This could be due to the different pathways that lead boys and girls into sexual exploitation. There is a greater tendency for family members to coerce boys into commercial sex or offer them up for commercial sex for financial gain. Thus, in states that require a third party (i.e., a trafficker or pimp) to be involved in order to identity a youth as a CSTV, boys who engage in these activities without a non-family member exploiter may not technically be sex trafficking victims, despite the exploitation from the buyer and their youthful status (Cole, 2018).

A plethora of research indicates past vulnerability is a key risk factor for triggering CSTVs (Butler, 2015; Mir, 2013; Reid & Jones, 2011). Indeed, CSTVs often have personal and familial histories involving illicit substance use, as well as physical and sexual abuse (Mir, 2013; Reid & Jones, 2011). For example, one study found 96% of women prostitutes reported experiencing sexual assaults prior to entering the commercial sex industry and 73% reported experiencing child sexual abuse (Kennedy et al., 2007). This unstable environment forces many minors to run away from their homes, making them highly susceptible to the common tactics sex traffickers use to entrap their victims

(Reid & Jones, 2011). Other minors wind up in group homes, foster homes, or juvenile institutions, rendering them homeless and extremely vulnerable to manipulation and coercion (Mir, 2013). Indeed, sex traffickers often target these at-risk youth because they are easy to manipulate due to their dependence on adults for shelter, food, and physical protection (Butler, 2015; Patel, 2017). Some scholars have suggested sexually exploited minors frequently engage in "survival sex" in which they do not freely consent to sell their bodies but instead must trade sex to fulfill their basic needs (Butler, 2015; Cole, 2018). For example, Kennedy and colleagues (2007) discovered 12% of the women interviewed began engaging in prostitution out of economic necessity. Although, another 18% reported that they had freely chosen to engage in prostitution, even as young as the age of 10. Additional qualitative research by Miller and Schwartz (1995) reported high visibility cases in which young runaways engaged in prostitution because they had no other source of income. Recent qualitative research suggests this phenomenon may be especially prevalent for boys who engage in commercial sex to support themselves or their expensive substance abuse habits (Cole, 2018).

One of the most important explanatory factors for why traffickers target children despite the increased legal risk involved in trafficking minors is that because they are young and socially immature; it is easy for traffickers to manipulate these youth (Patel, 2017). Adolescents are extremely impressionable and vulnerable to outside influences such as peer pressure and the need for social status (Cauffman & Steinberg, 1995). Furthermore, adolescents prioritize sensation-seeking activities and do not consider long-term consequences of their actions (Cauffman & Steinberg, 1995). Biologically speaking, the frontal lobe, which is linked to risk-taking, future orientation, and

impulsivity, is the last area of the brain to develop (Henry & Moffitt, 1997; Spear, 2000). Further, children who have experienced maltreatment, as many CSTVs have, display disturbances in neural development, triggering heightened levels of fear, memory impairments, and difficulty understanding emotions (Heide & Solomon, 2006; Reid & Jones, 2011). The continuing experience of trauma exacerbates these CSTV's abnormalities.

Traffickers target CSTVs at malls, shelters, bus stations, arcades, and through the internet (Butler, 2015; Patel, 2017). They prey on young children who appear vulnerable and are alone (Patel, 2017). Sex traffickers use a variety of techniques to manipulate and coerce their victims into commercial sex acts. Pimps can employ methods learned through the "pimp subculture" to recruit and manipulate victims (Butler, 2015; Kennedy et al., 2007). Pimps often entrap their victims through false promises of love, protection, and security (Butler, 2015; Kennedy et al., 2007; Patel, 2017). Unfortunately, family members, neighbors, or classmates manipulate and coerced a substantial number of children (Butler, 2015; Cole, 2018; Kennedy et al., 2007). Indeed, one victim, after being photographed during her rape, agreed to her exploiters conditions in order to prevent the release of the photographs of her assault (Butler, 2015). The photographs appeared to display consensual sex, even though she was the victim of a sexual assault.

Once the sex traffickers entrap their victims, the pimps continue to "groom" them for commercial sex acts by subjugating them to humiliation, manipulation, and physical assaults, such as beatings, burnings, and other forms of torture (Butler, 2015; Patel, 2017). Qualitative research suggests pimps first offer love and companionship, then turn to tactics of shame and self-blame, and lastly resort to threats and physical harm if the

women still refuse to engage in commercial sex acts (Kennedy et al., 2007). To minimize resistance, pimps insulate their victims from the outside world and exert complete control over their them (Mir, 2013). CSTVs are often loyal to their sex traffickers because they believe the false promises of love and feel that they have no choice but to stay with their traffickers (Butler, 2015; Kennedy et al., 2007; Mir, 2013). Indeed, CSTVs often identify themselves as criminals rather than as victims (Patel, 2017). It is important to emphasize that the TVPA (2000) establishes that children engaged in commercial sex acts cannot legally consent to such acts. If follows, that these victims are not willfully consenting to engage in commercial sex acts, rather because of extreme manipulative and coercive forces that sex traffickers exert upon them they often feel as though they have no choice but to engage in these acts. Additionally, some CSTVs suffer from trauma bonding, where victims become psychologically attached to their traffickers seeing them as family members rather than exploiters (Kennedy et al., 2007; Patel, 2017).

It is of no surprise that CSTVs experience significant trauma through their sex trafficking experiences. Child sex trafficking is a risk factor for post-traumatic stress disorder, depression, substance abuse problems, eating disorders, and suicide (Butler, 2015; Patel, 2017; Reid & Jones, 2011; Zimmerman et al., 2008). A systematic review of the 19 studies exploring the physical and psychological consequences of sex trafficking found that victims reported high levels of physical and sexual violence, anxiety (between 48%-97.7%), depression (54.9%-100%) and post-traumatic stress disorder (19.5%-77%) (Oram et al., 2012). Further, O'Brien and colleagues (2017) found domestic CSTVs as compared to other unexploited welfare-involved youth were more likely to display runaway behaviors, show physical and emotionally aggressive behaviors, and test in the

clinical range for substance abuse problems. Additionally, CSTVs often display dysfunctional personal beliefs about themselves resulting in low self-esteem and feelings of powerlessness. As previously mentioned, some victims view themselves as criminals, which makes them more likely to return to sex trafficking (Patel, 2017).

In addition to psychological impairments, CSTVs often have physical scars, such as broken bones, wounds, malnutrition, drug addiction, and sexually transmitted infections (Butler, 2015; Oram et al., 2012). Indeed, sex trafficking victims report frequent headaches, back pains, stomach pains, and memory problems (Oram et al., 2012). Further, these victims also suffer financial consequences. They often lack the training and education needed for employment, resulting in a lack of financial income, which continues the cycle by making them more vulnerable to future exploitation (Butler, 2015).

In response to the serious need for services and protection for sexually exploited minors, the federal government along with service provision agencies have enacted policies designed to help and protect these victims. However, there is a serious disconnect between federal and state policies that can have severe consequences for CSTVs. While federal responses have consistently identified CSTVs as victims, state agencies do not consistently view them in this way. Indeed, interviews of professionals in youth-serving organizations showed that some respondents commonly endorsed the myth that in order to be victims, there must be evidence that others used force, fraud, or coercion to engage these youth in commercial sex acts (Gonzalez-Pons et al., 2020). The next section of this dissertation details the federal response to child sex trafficking and

then the state response, highlighting discrepancies and consequences of the differences between the laws at the different levels.

1.2 Federal Legislation

The U.N. Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children identifies all prostituted minors as victims of sex trafficking and requires criminalization of child prostitution (U.N. Protocol, 2000). The United States ratified the protocol in 2005 and is legally bound to adhere to the protocol (Butler, 2015). In addition to ratifying international treaties, the federal government has enacted several laws that pertain to child sex trafficking victims. First, the White Slave Traffic Act (1910), also known as the Mann Act, proscribed the commercial sexual exploitation of American youth but limited its scope as it focused mainly on prosecuting traffickers rather than providing services for victims (Butler, 2015). Additionally, triggering the Mann act required movement across state lines, further limiting its ability to prosecute sex traffickers. In part to correct these problems and in response to the UN treaties, congress enacted the Trafficking Victims Protection Act (TVPA) in 2000, and reauthorized the legislation in 2004, 2006, 2008, and 2013.

The TVPA and its subsequent reauthorizations define a commercial sex act as "any sex act on account of which anything of value is given to or received by any person" (TVPA, 2000). The main focus of the TVPA was the three P's approach to sex trafficking: Prevention, Prosecution, and Protection. Prevention requires the classification of CSTVs as victims rather than as prostitution offenders and mandates training for law enforcement agencies to treat these children as victims. Prosecution refers to the need for successful prosecution against traffickers, pimps, and exploiters

(i.e., clients) with appropriate sentences compatible with the severity of the offense. Lastly, protection stresses the need for victim-centered rescue and restoration, with an emphasis on long-term services specifically equipped to account for the unique needs of CSTVs. Specifically, the act notes "Victims of severe forms of trafficking, while in the custody of the Federal Government and to the extent practicable, shall (A) not be detained in facilities inappropriate to their status as crime victims; (B) receive necessary medical care and other assistance; and (C) be provided protection if a victim's safety is at risk or if there is danger of additional harm by recapture of the victim by a trafficker" (TVPA, 2000, p. 1477).

Under the TVPA and its reauthorizations, minors need not show that they engaged in commercial sex acts due to force, fraud, or coercion. In fact, the specific language describes sex trafficking of children without the use of force, fraud or coercion as a violation:

> "Whoever knowingly in or affecting interstate commerce, recruits, entices, harbors, transports, provides, or obtains by any means a person; or benefits financially or by receiving anything of value from participation in a venture which has engaged in an act described in violation of paragraph (1), knowing that force, fraud, or coercion…will be used to cause the person to engage in a commercial sex act, ***or that the person has not attained the age of 18 years*** and will be caused to engage in a commercial sex act, shall be punished." (TVPA, 2000, p. 1487). [Emphasis added]

This is a major difference between sex trafficking legislation that pertains to children as compared to adults in that adult sex trafficking victims must demonstrate force, fraud, or

coercion to prove their status as sex trafficking victim (TVPA, 2000). In addition to the lack of proof regarding force or coercion, the TVPA identifies any sexually exploited minor as a victim, rather than a perpetrator. Indeed, the Trafficking Victims Protection Reauthorization Act (TVPRA) of 2013 forbids the prosecution of prostituted minors as criminals or the adjudication of sex trafficking victims as delinquents. The TVPRA (2013) calls upon states to provide CSTVs with immunity from prosecution. Specifically, the TVPRA (2013) states:

> "States should (A) treat minor victims of sex trafficking as crime victims rather than as criminal defendants or juvenile delinquents; (B) adopt laws that (i) establish the presumption that a child under the age of 18 who is charged with a prostitution offense is a minor victim of sex trafficking; (ii) avoid the criminal charge of prostitution for such a child, and instead consider such a child a victim of crime and provide the child with appropriate services and treatment; and (iii) strengthen criminal provisions prohibiting the purchasing of commercial sex acts, especially with minors."

Despite the TVPA's effort to combat child sex trafficking, commentators have criticized it for failing to provide full protection for domestic sex trafficking minors (Butler, 2015). Indeed, congress was slow to identify the commonalities of risk factors between international sex trafficking victims and domestic sex trafficking victims. The Department of Justice has recently acknowledged that, despite the enactment of federal legislation, state law enforcement agencies still fail to treat CSTVs as victims (Butler, 2015). This is partially due to discrepancies in the terminology used when describing these children. Indeed, as one state-level task force explained, "There is no universal

agreement on what these youth should be labeled." (Penry, 2011, pg. 3). This results in inconsistent treatment in which some youth receive a duality of services whereas others receive no services at all, because "agencies are not clearly communicating with each other in a language that they all understand" (Penry, 2011, pg.3). Next, I review the state policies, legislation, and relevant case law.

1.2 State Legislation

Although federal legislation presumably protects anyone under the age of 18 who is a victim of sex trafficking from criminal liability for prostitution, local prosecutors still continue to charge youth with prostitution offenses in the United States. Prostitution is a state crime, so the states vary in their responses to minors convicted of prostitution (Mir, 2013). Although the federal government views CSTVs as victims, the traditional state response is to treat sexually exploited minors as criminals and not as victims (Butler, 2015; Patel, 2017). This discrepancy exists because, at the state level, there is an unresolved debate as to whether minors can consent to commercial sex (Butler, 2015). State statutory rape laws suggest minors cannot legally consent to sex until they reach the age of sexual consent (Butler, 2015). Notably, when the first juvenile court was founded in 1899, the age of sexual consent was ten years old (Butler, 2015; Yeckel, 1997). Reformers worked hard to raise the age of consent, and today the minimum age of consent is 16 years old with some states setting the age of consent to 18 years old (Butler, 2015; Patel, 2017). Despite this acknowledgement that minors under a certain age are not legally able to consent to sexual activity, state prostitution laws do not usually include an age boundary (Butler, 2015; Patel, 2017). Thus, state juvenile justice laws have treated sexually exploited minors as criminals instead of victims (Butler, 2015). Indeed, a recent

study reported that although law enforcement officers treated 60% of prostituted minors as victims, they regarded 40% of the youth as offenders (Halter, 2010). The main determinations for victim or offender status were the level of youth cooperation, the presence of an identified sex trafficker, whether the youth had a prior record, and how the police discovered the youth's involvement in prostitution.

To align themselves with federal legislation, states first enacted human trafficking legislation but it took 13 years after the passage of the TVPA for all states to enact human trafficking legislation (Butler, 2015). In response to the criticism regarding state human trafficking legislation, states began to enact safe-harbor laws to protect and assist victims of sex trafficking (Butler, 2015; Patel, 2017). However, the states vary with regards to how much protection they offer victims. Some allow for total immunity, while others provide immunity depending on proof that the child was a CSTV. Also, some states allow for immunity for prostitution charges, but not other crimes committed as a result of being trafficked (e.g., forgery or theft) (Williams, 2017). For example, New Hampshire's statute allows for immunity for prosecution or juvenile delinquency proceedings if he or she "solicits, agrees to perform, or engages in sexual contact." (New Hampshire § 645:2), while North Dakota's statute provides immunity for additional offenses:

> "If the individual was a minor at the time of the offense and committed the offense as a direct result of being a victim, the individual is not criminally liable or subject to a juvenile delinquency proceeding under chapter 27-20 for: prostitution, misdemeanor forgery, misdemeanor theft offenses, insufficient funds or credit offenses, manufacture or possession of a controlled or counterfeit substance offenses, drug paraphernalia offenses." (North Dakota § 12.1-41-12).

State responses regarding the issue of minor's consent to commercial sex acts vary broadly. For example, Nicolette R., the young girl whose story opened this paper, was 12 years old when police arrested her for the second time for prostitution related charges (*Nicolette R.,* 2004). The first time when her trafficker bailed her out, the prosecutor charged her as a juvenile delinquent for committing a crime that, if an adult had committed it, would have been prostitution (*Nicolette R.,* 2004). The court sentenced her a secure detention facility. On appeal, her lawyers argued that, according to New York age of consent laws, Nicolette could not legally consent to selling commercial sex since she was only 12 years old, and the age of consent at the time was 17 (*Nicolette R.,* 2004). However, the New York court of appeals held that even though she could not legally consent to sexual activity, she could still be guilty of juvenile delinquency for committing the crime of prostitution (*Nicolette R.,* 2004).

Notably, Nicolette's case occurred in the early 2000's, and since then, New York has enacted safe harbor laws described below. In fact, New York was the first state to enact these types of laws (Butler, 2015). Despite this important advancement for victims, the law still provides a great deal of discretion to the legal decision-makers. Indeed, the law allows the court to continue with delinquency proceedings in juvenile court rather than a Person in Need of Supervision hearing in family court if "the respondent has previously been adjudicated a delinquent based on a prostitution arrest.", even if the youth is under 16 years old (Safe Harbor Act, 2008). As noted in Nicolette's case, this was the second time the police had arrested Nicolette for a prostitution like offense. As such, it is likely that Nicolette's fate would not differ today as compared to her original case date.

Contrast Nicolette's story with that of B.W., a 13-year-old girl in Texas who waved a car over late one night as she walked the streets (*In re B.W.*, 2010). She offered oral sex, and the undercover police officer accepted and asked her to get in the car. The officer arrested her but after completing a background check realized she was only 13 years old and arranged to transfer her to the Texas Juvenile Court System (*In re B.W.*, 2010). There, she was adjudicated as a delinquent for the offense of prostitution. After her case made it to the Texas Supreme Court, the Court held that since B.W. could not legally consent to sexual activity according to various Texas laws reviewing sexual activity with minors, the state could not adjudicate her delinquent for prostitution offenses (*In re B.W.*, 2010). Texas argued that by disregarding a child's consent to sexual activity, the prosecution of pimps and clients will suffer because the defendants can claim they did not commit the offense of prostitution since the victim could not consent. However, Texas law does not require a consent element in the prosecution of prostitution (*In re B.W.*, 2010). Notably, the court rejected Texas' argument that the only way to provide B.W. with services was to adjudicate her as a delinquent. The court stated, "The State has broad power to protect children from sexual exploitation without needing to resort to charging these children with prostitution and branding them offenders." (*In re B.W.*, 2010, pg. 825). Indeed, according to Texas law, a law enforcement officer may take possession of a child if a reasonable person would believe there is an immediate danger to the physical health or safety of the child. After being placed in Child Protective Services, B.W. would have had full access to a wide range of services (*In re B.W.*, 2010). Thus, the court rejected the notion of prosecution as a gate-way to offering services for sexually exploited minors.

A common argument raised in support of the prosecution of sexually exploited minors as delinquents is that such prosecutions will allow states to ensure the children's safety and provide a range of services to them. However, this type of policy ignores the fact that charging the minor as delinquent could potentially reinforce the view that she (or he) is a criminal and increase the likelihood of future victimization (Patel, 2017). Unless their traffickers force CSTVs to engage in commercial sex acts, their relationships with their traffickers develop out of intimacy. Eventually, through false promises of love and security, the victim may begin to view him or herself as the trafficker's companion, and by extension, also a criminal (Patel, 2017). When law enforcement reinforces the view that the minor is a criminal, that can lead to the youth's further distrust in the criminal justice system, and a decreased likelihood for the youth to cooperate with legal agencies.

Recognizing the dangers of charging CSTVs with prostitution, some states (i.e., 28 states as of 2016) have enacted safe-harbor laws that aim to treat trafficked children as survivors of trauma who should receive rehabilitative services, rather than punishment (Williams, 2017). There are two goals that underlie safe-harbor laws. First, safe-harbor laws provide legal protection for sex trafficking victims and second, they provide ready access to necessary services for treatment, including housing, psychological, and medical treatment (Patel, 2017). The successful implementation of safe harbor laws turn on six themes: 1) collaboration and coordination of state entities and resources, 2) decriminalization and / or diversion for actions of trafficked youth, 3) availability of funds for anti-trafficking efforts and survivor services, 4) provision of services for youth survivors, 5) increased penalties for traffickers of children, and 6) training to recognize and respond to sex trafficking crimes and CSTVs (Williams, 2017, p. 1).

Legal scholars argue that one of the most important elements within a safe-harbor provision is to offer complete immunity from prostitution offenses for minors (Butler, 2015; Patel, 2017). Twenty states and the District of Columbia offer some prosecutorial immunity for CSTVs, although the exact nature of the immunity differs across the jurisdictions (Williams, 2017). For example, some states statutes only provide immunity if trafficked youth are under a certain age (often ages 18) and others require proof that the child was a trafficking victim in order to grant prosecutorial immunity or dismissal of juvenile adjudication proceedings (Williams, 2017). For example, Oklahoma requires law enforcement to contact the department of human services and conduct a joint investigation into a child's human trafficking claim (Oklahoma 21 § 748.2). The statute states:

> "The minor shall remain in the custody of the Department of Human Services until the investigation has been completed, but for no longer than seventy-two hours, for the show-cause hearing. If criminal charges were filed against the minor and the investigation shows, at the show-cause hearing, that it is more likely than not that the minor is a victim of human trafficking or sexual abuse, then the criminal charges against the minor shall be dismissed and the Department of Human Services case and services shall proceed."

An alternative to providing complete immunity for trafficked youth is to provide the youth with juvenile diversion services, which 29 states and the District of Columbia now do (Williams, 2017). This approach diverts a trafficked youth from the criminal or juvenile justice system if the youth completes the diversion program requirements. Additionally, diversion usually includes psychological services that address the youth's

underlying needs (Williams, 2017). Diversion laws differ across jurisdiction on the factors of who has the authority to divert trafficked youth, whether the youth must plead guilty or be charged with a crime before she or he can receive services, and whether the child receives a legal designation as an individual in need of supervision (CHIN or PINS) (Williams, 2017). For example, New York's safe harbor provision only allows diversion for a child under age 16 who has committed his or her first offense for prostitution (Butler, 2015; New York Crim. Pro. § 170.80). Legal scholars note that while diversion can be useful for providing services to these youth, it can still be problematic to the extent that trafficked youth have to first admit they are guilty, or if they do not qualify for these services because of their age (Butler, 2015). Additionally, if the youth does not cooperate with law enforcement agencies or does not satisfy all the diversion requirements, the state may reinstitute prosecution, so the threat of prosecution still looms while the youth try to recover from their traumatic experiences (Butler, 2015; Patel, 2017).

While one argument for enacting diversion services instead of prosecuting victims is that it creates an opportunity to provide youths with needed services that can aid in their rehabilitation, the argument falls short if the state fails to make funding available for anti-trafficking efforts and victim services (Williams, 2017). To address this issue, twenty-five states have created funds in their treasuries to pay for anti-trafficking efforts, including funds for the treatment of victims, the prosecution of sex traffickers, and the training of state personnel. Only 6 states have funds created specifically for child sex trafficking, while the other states provide funds for human trafficking more generally (Williams, 2017). Although only 25 states have set aside funds specifically for training

law enforcement to recognize and respond to sex trafficking, 38 states and the District of Columbia have enacted laws requiring training in the recognition and response to sex trafficking but not necessarily with the necessary funding (Williams, 2017). Additionally, 15 states and the District of Columbia have laws requiring specialized training for child sex trafficking situations.

In sum, despite federal legislation mandating the treatment of sexually exploited minors as victims rather than offenders, states remain inconsistent in their treatment of these youth. It is vital to fully understand the process by which individuals make decisions on how to treat of sexually exploited minors. I next turn to social psychological research concerning judgments of sex trafficking victims, proposing that a person's emotional response to sexually exploited youth may be an important factor that shapes these decisions.

CHAPTER 2: SOCIAL SCIENTIFIC RESERACH

Very little research has explored the factors that influence perceptions of sexually exploited minors. One study surveyed 81 sheriffs in 9 different states to measure their views on the prevalence of child sex trafficking and their perceptions of CSTVs (Hancock, 2019). Although sheriffs tended to report child sex trafficking was not a serious problem in their jurisdiction, they did overwhelmingly view CSTVs as victims in need of services. Additionally, Gonzalez-Pons and colleagues (2020) surveyed professionals in youth-serving organizations that interact with CSTVs to study their endorsement of domestic minor sex trafficking myths, victim identification, and service provisions. Their results found that overall myth endorsement was low, although the most endorsed myth was that force, fraud, or coercion were required for CST, which in turn predicted lower levels of victim identification within the organization (Gonzalez-Pons et al., 2020). As such, endorsement of CST myths could predict one's ability to properly identify a CSTV.

Experimental research supports the findings in the above largely qualitative studies. For example, Cunningham and Cromer (2016) explored whether beliefs of human trafficking myths would influence judgments of victim blame and beliefs about the veridicality of a child sex trafficking scenario. Participants read a vignette depicting a 13-year-old girl who ran away from home and ended up exchanging sex for shelter, food, and clothing with a man who eventually forced her to perform sexual acts with other people for money (Cunningham & Cromer, 2016). Participants completed a human trafficking myths scale that assessed beliefs in sex trafficking myths (e.g., "*If someone did not want to be trafficked, he or she would leave the situation*") (Cunningham &

Cromer, 2016). Those with higher acceptance of human trafficking myths found the scenario less believable and were more likely to blame the victim. Further, men, regardless of human trafficking myth acceptance, were more likely to blame the victim and less likely to believe the scenario (Cunningham & Cromer, 2016). This study demonstrates how acceptance of human trafficking myths can influence perceptions of victim blame, which can ultimately influence how the victim is treated. Menaker and Miller (2013) went a step further by providing some participants with a survivors' previous victimization history to offset attributions of culpability. They found that participants who endorsed strong sexist attitudes toward women attributed greater levels of culpability towards a juvenile female prostitute, which in turn predicted greater punitive recommendations. However, participants who received information regarding the juvenile's victimization history attributed lesser culpability to the victim (Menaker & Miller, 2013). As such, information regarding past victimization may mitigate attributions of victim blame and result in more rehabilitative (rather than punitive) recommendations.

There is also some research that suggests empathy can predict prosocial behaviors and lower attributions of victim blame. Silver and colleagues (2015) randomly assigned undergraduate participants to read one of four vignettes depicting a foreign or domestic young woman who was voluntarily (i.e., prostitution) or involuntarily (i.e., sex trafficking) engaged in commercial sex acts. Participants rated the level of empathy they experienced towards the young woman, their attitudes towards prostitution, their beliefs in a just world, and their likelihood of engaging in proactive behaviors to fight sexual exploitation (e.g., donate money, volunteer, become politically active, organize a service

group, talk with others about the problem, alert law enforcement or social services, or offer personal resources such as food and clothing). Participants showed the greatest empathy to the sex trafficking victim, regardless of citizenship (Silver et al., 2015). High levels of empathy were also predictive of fewer attributions of victim blame and endorsement of more proactive behaviors to fight sexual exploitation. As such, empathy appears to lower levels of victim blame and predict prosocial behaviors for trafficking victims.

In the first study of this dissertation, I manipulated trafficker sex and youth sex to determine how these factors can influence perceptions of CSTVs. Martinez and Kelle (2013) call for more research exploring perceptions of LGBTQ sex trafficked youth, as research suggests that cases of trafficked LGBTQ youth may go unreported due to the hidden nature of same-sex prostitution. Past research indicates homeless youth are at a greater risk of being trafficked (Butler, 2015; Patel, 2017), with LGBTQ homeless youth being at the highest risk (Martinez & Kelle, 2013).

Despite this need for research, there are few studies that explore the impact of victim sex and perpetrator sex in perceptions of child sex trafficking victims. One study conducted by Voogt and colleagues (2020) explored the impact of extralegal factors, such as victim gender, trafficker gender, and victim age on perceptions of credibility for child sexual assault cases, a crime similar to child sex trafficking. Specifically, they manipulated whether participants reviewed a child sexual assault case with a 5, 10, or 15 year old victim who was either male or female and was assaulted by either an adult male or adult female. Their findings indicated that participants reported greater credibility for the 5 and 10 year old victim as compared to the 15 year old victim (Voogt et al., 2020).

Additionally, participants reported greater competency ratings for the male victim as compared to the female victim. Lastly, victims were rated as more accurate and truthful when the defendant was male as compared to female, although this did not influence perceptions of believability, competency, or reliability (Voogt et al., 2020). Past research has indicated defendant gender might impact perceptions of credibility for victims of child sexual assault, a crime similar to child sex trafficking, such that individuals report greater victim credibility when the defendant is a male as compared to a female (Bornstein et al., 2007; Rogers & Davies, 2007).

The literature includes more research regarding perceptions of adult sex trafficking victims as compared to child victims. Menaker and Franklin (2015) randomly assigned participants to review one of three vignettes depicting a 19-year-old female who was the victim of either domestic sex trafficking, intimate partner violence, or acquaintance rape. Participants attributed greater blame to the domestic sex trafficking victim as compared to the victim of other violent offenses, although this was not predictive of recommending services to the survivor. Indeed, participants recommended more services for the sex trafficking victim, despite attributing greater blame to her (Menaker & Franklin, 2016).

One study conducted by Wiener and colleagues (in press) explored the influence of moral emotions (e.g., anger, disgust, and contempt) on individual's propensity to arrest a sex trafficking victim. Participants read one of eight vignettes depicting a sex trafficking case modified from *United States v. Bell* (2014). The researchers manipulated victim vulnerability (e.g., vulnerable or non-vulnerable background), previous prostitution behavior, and post trafficking incident prostitution behavior. The results

revealed a significant two-way interaction between victim vulnerability and prior prostitution behavior on arrest certainty showing that participants were least certain that the victim should be arrested when she came from a vulnerable background and had engaged in prior prostitution acts (Weiner et al., under review). Importantly, participants emotional reactions towards the victim mediated this relationship, such that participants who read that the victim came from a non-vulnerable background and had not engaged in prior prostitution acts reported higher levels of disgust and contempt towards her, which in turn led to increases in arrest certainty (Wiener et al., in press). This dissertation extended Wiener and colleagues (in press) design to explore perceptions of sex trafficked youth, while continuing to explore the role of emotions in legal decision-making.

CHAPTER 3: EMOTION AND DECISION-MAKING

Influenced by the first philosophers who argued reason should be the ultimate driving factor of decisions and emotions should not be part of the calculous (Exum, 2015), early on psychologists had not considered affect to be an important determination of judgment and decision making. That is not the commonly held notion today as most scholars now recognize the role of emotions in decision-making scenarios (Bornstein & Wiener, 2006; Fiegenson & Park, 2006). Early emotion research focused on the role of valence on judgments (Lerner et al., 2015), whereas recent approaches emphasize the cognitive components of emotions, including the cognitive appraisals that accompany emotions (Lerner et al., 2015; Tiedens & Linton, 2001). Indeed, research has demonstrated that specific discrete emotions (e.g., anger and disgust) can influence judgments and decision-making (Lerner et al., 2015; Petty & Wiener, 2019; Tiedens & Linton, 2001). The exact ways in which emotions influence our behavior is still under debate, but there is little argument to the fact that emotions can and do influence our decisions and indirectly, our behavior (Baumeister et al., 2007).

Affect is the umbrella term that captures emotions, moods, and emotion-related traits (Coget et al., 2011; Lerner et al., 2015). First, researchers have defined and measured emotions in various ways so that there are important differences between emotions and moods with regard to how to how we study these concepts. Emotions are complex, multifaceted reactions that reflect judgments about the relationships people hold between themselves and their immediate social and physical environment (Lerner et al., 2015; So et al., 2015). They are affective states, which include feelings, cognitions, and actions or inclinations to act at either conscious or unconscious levels (Coget et al.,

2011; Feigenson & Park, 2006). Emotions are relatively short lived and vary in valence (i.e., pleasant vs. unpleasant) and intensity (high intensity vs. low intensity (Coget et al., 2011). Some researchers have chosen to label emotions as discrete because emotions have a specific target or cause (Coget et al., 2011).

Mood, on the other hand, is a less intense, more diffuse feeling that has a longer duration as compared to emotions (Coget et al., 2011; Feigenson & Park, 2006; Lerner et al., 2015). People do not necessarily know the cause of their moods, which can be incidental (i.e., feelings unrelated to the studies main task) or integral (i.e., feelings that arise from a decision at hand) (Coget et al., 2011; Lerner et al., 2015). The most common categorization of moods is valence based (i.e., positive or negative) (Feigenson & Park, 2006).

Most emotion studies measure the participants' emotions at one or more points during the study, either as a manipulation check or as the independent variable in studies that do not manipulate emotions (Angie et al., 2011). There are several self-report tools that measure emotions, including surveys specific to fear, anxiety, anger, and some such as the Positive and Negative Affect Scale (PANAS) that pertain to general emotions, (Lerner & Keltner, 2001; Nuñez et al., 2015). It is common for researchers to study specific, discrete emotions on judgment and decision-making tasks rather than overall negative or positive affect. Researchers also study emotional arousal often using physiological indicators such as the skin-conductance response test, which is an automatic index of emotional arousal (FeldmanHall et al., 2016; Naqvi et al., 2006). Emotional arousal research has demonstrated level of arousal differs depending on the context of the situation. For instance, FeldmanHall and colleagues (2016) discovered that

increased arousal decreased risk-taking strategies, but only when the chance of winning is knowingly risky (i.e., certainty). If participants were certain the chance of winning was risky, increased arousal led to decreases in risk-taking strategies. However, when the risk of winning is ambiguous or uncertain, enhanced emotional arousal led to an increase of risk-taking strategies (FeldmanHall et al., 2016).

Researchers can also manipulate emotions through film clips, autobiographical event recall, and methods specific to the study involved (e.g., asking emotion related questions about the task at hand) (Angie et al., 2011; Nuñez et al., 2015; Tiedens & Linton, 2001). A recent meta-analytic review of emotion and decision-making studies found that the type of manipulation used to induce certain emotions can influence the results. For instance, studies that manipulated participants' sadness through film clips showed moderate effect sizes, whereas studies who used autobiographical recall manipulations had small effect sizes (Angie et al., 2011). Interestingly, studies that induced anger individually resulted in a moderate mean effect size but those that induced anger at a group level produced a small mean effect size (Angie et al., 2011). This review also highlighted the importance of emotion manipulation checks, finding that experiments that had a significant emotion manipulation check when studying sadness produced a moderate mean effect size, whereas studies that did not include a manipulation check resulted in a small mean effect size (Angie et al., 2011).

Some experimental studies manipulate incidental emotions, that is, those that are not associated with the task judgment or decision involved in the study (Angie et al., 2011; Lerner et al., 2015). For example, sometimes researchers ask participants to write about a time in their lives when they experienced a certain emotion, and then to complete

a judgment task that is not associated with their written experience. Incidental emotions tap into the participants' pre-existing mood states and chronic emotion conditions, such as chronic anxiety (Angie et al., 2011). Studies have shown that incidental emotions influence subsequent judgments in a manner that is congruent with the emotion (Tiedens & Linton, 2001). One classic example is Schwarz and Clore's (1983) finding that weather conditions had a significant influence on participants' self-reported life satisfaction. In areas where the weather was sunny, participants reported greater life satisfaction as compared to those in areas where the weather was gloomy. One fascinating property of incidental emotions is that their influence often happens without our awareness (Lerner et al., 2015). Indeed, when Schwarz & Clore (1983) asked participants about the weather (thus, drawing their attention to the weather), the influence of weather on life satisfaction disappeared.

Other experimental studies vary emotions using an integral manipulation, where the induced emotion is directly associated with the decision-making task (Angie et al., 2011; Lerner et al., 2015; Nuñez et al., 2015). For example, legal decision-making research makes use of an integral manipulation when it asks participants to review a fact pattern in a case and then report why that fact pattern causes them to feel sad or fearful or angry. Integral emotions shape judgments and decision making either at conscious or unconscious levels and acquire a permanency such that once participants attach their emotions to the choice task they are difficult to detach (Lerner et al., 2015). Some scholars argue emotions have no place in legal decision making, whereas others suggest that emotions are informative and assist the decision-maker (Hamer, 2012). The law itself is divided on this issue. For example, some cases require legal decision-makers to

consider the emotional reactions of others when determining whether a crime should be labeled as a hate crime or crimes of passion (Bornstein & Wiener, 2006). However, the law also requires factfinders to ignore their affective states and to make decisions dispassionately (e.g., ignoring the emotions associated with gory crime photos) (Bornstein & Wiener, 2006).

There are several ways in which emotions can influence decision-making. First, emotions trigger memory recall that is congruent with the decision maker's current feelings (Bower, 1981). For example, Levine and Burgess (1997) randomly assigned students to receive an A or D on a pop quiz to explore how anger and sadness influenced event recall on a task unrelated to the emotions. Participants indicated how angry or sad they were after receiving their grades, and then participants listened to a taped recording of a student describing recent life events (Levine & Burgess, 1997). Participants who reported feeling angry about the grade were more likely to recall information in the recording related to goals, such as the desire to attend an event, whereas participants who reported feeling sad were more likely to recall information related to outcomes, such as not being able to attend the event (Levine & Burgess, 1997).

A second way affect can influence judgment is that emotions associated with a specific target (i.e., integral emotions) can serve as a basis of judgment independent of other information sources (Schwartz, 2000). Herr, individuals may ask themselves, "How do I feel about this sex trafficking victim?", and their response to this question can shape their judgments independent of the case facts. Third, as mentioned above, certain emotions elicit specific information processing styles (Feigenson & Park, 2006; Lerner & Keltner, 2000; Smith & Ellsworth, 1985). Smith and Ellsworth's influential Cognitive

Appraisal Theory (1985) introduced six core dimensions that characterize specific emotions: pleasantness, certainty, perceived controllability, attentional activity, anticipated effort, and agency. Specific emotions and moods have unique dimensional signatures so that affective pairs may be similar in valence but differences on other dimension determine the influence on subsequent judgments. For example, happiness and pride are both positive but differ on dimensions of perceived responsibility (i.e., agency – low for happiness and high for pride) (Manstead & Tetlock, 1989). Differences in appraisals on these underlying dimensions explain differences in information processing styles that specific emotions elicit. For example, Tiedens and Linton (2001) showed that emotions associated with a high level of certainty (i.e., anger, disgust, and happiness) are more likely to trigger heuristic styles of information processing, while emotions associated with low levels of certainty (i.e., fear, sadness, and hopefulness) elicit systematic information processing (Tiedens & Linton, 2001).

Lerner and Keltner's (2000, 2001) appraisal-tendency framework takes this analysis further to suggest that different dimensions are associated with different action tendencies. They argued that anger and fear are both unpleasant emotions, but they differ on several other dimensions, including certainty (high for anger, low for fear), individual control (high for anger, low for fear), and other's responsibility (high for anger, medium for fear) (Lerner et al., 2015). These differences result in different appraisal tendencies, such that angry people view negative events as predictable, under their own or other's control, and attributable to others' actions (Lerner et al., 2015). Fearful people perceive negative events as unpredictable, under the situation's control and not under their own or other people's control. Research has shown that people feeling angry are more likely to

use top down, heuristic processing and rely on stereotypes, whereas people feeling fearful are more likely to use bottom up, systematic processing and rely more on content arguments, even when these emotions are not tied to the specific decision-making task (i.e., incidental emotions) (Tiedens & Linton, 2001).

Finally, emotions influence judgments by providing informational cues that help people determine the proper decision outcome (Feigenson & Park, 2006). Indeed, affect-as-information theory suggests that complex emotions serve as informational feedback that directly guides judgments and decisions about social targets (Clore et al., 2001). Indeed, research suggests integral emotions can directly affect attributions of responsibility or blame. For example, Feigenson and colleagues (2001) conducted a series of mock jury studies on negligence cases involving a car accident. Researchers found that increasing the severity of an accident made participants feel angrier towards a defendant which led to greater perceptions of fault for the defendant. However, when the researchers increased the plaintiff's blameworthiness, resulting in more anger at the plaintiff, participants attributed more fault towards the plaintiff (Feigenson et al., 2001). Feigenson and Park (2006) suggest individuals are using their current emotional state as an informational cue for their case judgments and argue that relevant features of a case can affect attributions of responsibility and blame and ultimately affect a person's emotional response and case judgments.

All four of these processes influence attributions of legal responsibility and blame, which is at the core of any legal decision-making paradigm. For example, research has shown that angry participants were more likely to find a peer guilty for a stereotype-consistent crime rather than a stereotype-inconsistent crime, likely through the influence

of anger on information processing styles (Bodenhausen et al., 1994). In addition, Nuñez and colleagues (2015) discovered that anger, but not sadness, had a direct influence on sentence judgments such that anger led to increases in death sentencing decisions in a capital murder case. Angry participants placed more importance on aggravating evidence (i.e., evidence that increased the culpability or severity of the crime) as compared to mitigating evidence (i.e., evidence that decreased the culpability or severity of the crime) (Nuñez et al., 2015). Lastly, Georges and colleagues (2013) found that, although anger fluctuated throughout a capital trial, the more a mock juror's anger increased during any stage of the trial, the more likely they were to assign a death sentence. Additionally, increases in jurors' anger resulted in weaker ratings of mitigating evidence presented by the defense (Georges et al., 2013).

3.1 Emotion Regulation

In summary, emotion can have a biasing influence of legal decisions so that it makes sense to look to emotion regulation techniques as a possible curative intervention. Emotion regulation is the process by which people can alter their emotional responses to events, including how they experiences and express the emotions that arise from those events (Grecucci & Sanfey, 2014; Gross, 2002). The process model of emotion regulation suggests people encounter situations, attend to certain aspects in the context, interpret the situations in relation to their goals, and then respond with modified emotions on experiential, physiological, and behavioral levels (Gross, 2015; McCrae & Gross, 2020). When people notice a discrepancy between their current emotional state and the emotional state they desire, they engage in emotion regulation strategies. There are different emotion regulation strategies such as distraction, rumination, expressive

suppression, physiological intervention, avoidance, and cognitive reappraisal that people use to increase or decrease the impact of intense feelings on thoughts, judgments, and behavior, (Gross, 2002; Gross, 2015; Heilman et al., 2010; McCrae & Gross, 2020).

Two central emotion regulation techniques that researchers have extensively compared are cognitive reappraisal and suppression (Gross, 2002; Heilman et al., 2010). Cognitive reappraisal refers to the cognitive transformation of a situation to alter its meaning and therefore emotional impact on the perceiver (Gross, 2002; McCrae & Gross, 2020). It involves reformulating the meaning of a situation or re-conceptualizing a positive or negative event, which alters the path of the emotional response to redirect its influence on thought and behavior (Gross, 2002; McCrae & Gross, 2020). Suppression, on the other hand, is an effort to deny the emotional experience to inhibit behaviors associated with that emotional response (e.g., facial expressions, gestures) (Gross, 2002; Heilman et al., 2010; McCrae & Gross, 2020). Suppression involves preventing the outward expression of an internal emotional state (McCrae & Gross, 2020).

Cognitive reappraisal and suppression both can decrease the *expression* of emotions, but research suggests they differ in their ability to reduce the *experience* of emotions, especially negative emotions (Gross, 1998; Heilman et al., 2010). For example, Richards and Gross (2000) showed the suppression of emotions by forcing oneself to act as if one had no emotional response at all decreases memory for the original events that triggered the emotions in the first place. However, other studies demonstrate that one's culture can influence the effectiveness of suppression strategies (Sheppes et al., 2014) and still others have shown that reappraisal is a potent strategy to dampen and redirect moral emotions such as anger, disgust and contempt (Ray et al., 2008), although this

latter advantage can depend on the intensity of the emotional event (Sheppes et al., 2011; Sheppes et al., 2014). Indeed, cognitive reappraisal often results in desired self-report emotion changes, whereas suppression results in weak changes in negative emotion (McCrae & Gross, 2020). At the same time, cognitive reappraisal is more successful when the negative emotion is of moderate intensity because when a negative emotion is high intensity, people are more likely to use suppression or distraction (e.g., directing attention away from the emotional situation towards neutral aspects of a situation) emotion regulation strategies (McCrae & Gross, 2020). For example, Sheppes and colleagues (2011) showed participants 30 emotional pictures that ranged from low-intensity to high-intensity images. Following training and practice trials demonstrating the difference between reappraisal and distraction strategies, participants viewed each of the 30 images for 500 ms and then indicated which emotion regulation strategy they wanted to participate in (Sheppes et al., 2011). The results showed a bias for choosing reappraisal strategies for low-intensity emotional images and a distraction strategy for high-intensity emotional images. Research also suggests cognitive reappraisal may not be an effective emotion regulation strategy for people experiencing high levels of stress (McCrae & Gross, 2020; Raio et al., 2013). For example, Raio and colleagues (2013) engaged in fear-conditioning with participants such that one stimulus predicted an aversive outcome and another stimulus predicted a neutral outcome. Then, participants engaged in cognitive emotion regulation training (i.e., cognitive reappraisal strategies) to reduce the fear response to the aversive stimulus (Raio et al., 2013). The next day, researchers assigned participants to an acute stress induction or a control task, and then participants repeated the fear-conditioning tasks using their new cognitive reappraisal

skills. Stressed participants showed no differences in their fear reductions, but non-stressed participants demonstrated robust fear reduction (Raio et al., 2013). Thus, it appears that stress impacts the effectiveness of cognitive reappraisal strategies when engaged in fear producing tasks. This could be particularly true of individuals who often engage in highly stressful activities (e.g., police officers, probation officers, attorneys, etc.). Psychological mechanisms that determine the selection of reappraisal strategies balance the need for emotion regulation with anticipated success, the cognitive costs of engaging in the emotion regulation strategy, and the desire to fully experience the emotional aspects of a situation (McCrae & Gross, 2020).

The discussion of how people regulate their emotions (e.g., through cognitive reappraisal or suppression techniques) often assumes people want to increase the experience of pleasant emotions and decrease the experience of unpleasant emotions (English et al., 2017; Larsen, 2000; Tamir & Ford, 2011). Current research on emotion regulation suggests this may not always be the case. Indeed, the instrumental emotion regulation research suggests people regulate their emotions to successfully pursue instrumental goals, not necessarily to feel pleasure or pain (Tamir, 2011). For example, Tamir and Ford (2011) found participants motivated to confront a negotiation partner (rather than collaborate) were more likely to increase their anger because they felt anger would be more useful to them in the situation. Indeed, Tamir's (2016) taxonomy of motives for regulating emotions suggests di factors can motivate a person's emotion regulation strategy, including whether he or she is pursuing a hedonic goal (e.g., to increase or decrease pleasant or unpleasant feelings) or an instrumental goal (e.g., performance, epistemic, social, or eudaimonic goals). Performance motives reflect a

person's desire to attain a valued outcome from their actions, which motivates an individual to experience emotions that drive them to successfully realize their goals (Tamir, 2016). Epistemic motives suggest people are motivated to experience emotions that can help them gain desirable information. People engage in emotion regulation techniques for social motives when they want to promote social relationships at the dyadic, group, or cultural levels (Tamir, 2016). Lastly, eudaimonic motives push people to engage in emotion regulation techniques to get a greater sense of autonomy, competency, or reinforce a sense of meaning in life (Tamir, 2016). Any of these motives or a combination of them determine how people regulate their emotions to make decisions that achieve their goals.

Tamir and colleagues (2020) view emotion regulation as a motivated process, establishing connections between goal-setting and goal-striving in emotion contexts. Specifically, emotion goal-setting refers to the activation of emotion goals (e.g., feel happy, very happy, or happier), while emotion goal-striving refers to the selection and activation of emotion regulation strategies to shift current emotions to the desired emotion goal states (Tamir et al., 2020). It is important to differentiate between emotion goal-setting and emotion-goal striving and not confound the two (Tamir et al., 2020). Indeed, research manipulating emotion goal-setting (e.g., decrease negative feelings) and emotion-goal striving (e.g., emotion regulation strategies, such as cognitive reappraisal) found that instructing people to decrease negative feelings was just as effective as instructing people to decrease negative feelings using cognitive reappraisal strategies (Tamir et al., 2019). However, people who were instructed to simply use cognitive reappraisal without specific instructions to decrease their negative feelings did not differ

in their emotion changes from participants who were told to respond naturally (Tamir et al., 2019). This work suggests emotion regulation strategies may not be as effective in reducing the impact of emotions on legal decisions unless instructions clearly state to decrease negative emotions in the decision-making task. It also suggests that simply directing people to increase or decrease their emotions may be sufficient to produce emotion regulation changes.

It is possible cognitive reappraisal strategies, with additional motivational components of reducing negative feelings, could redirect the moral emotions of disgust and contempt felt towards child trafficking victims (Wiener et al., in press) and replace them with empathy, thereby making evaluators less likely to favor legal consequences (e.g., diversion or detention) and more likely to support offering services to trafficking victims. Wondra and Ellsworth (2015) defined empathy as feeling the emotions that another person is feeling at the time of contact. If individuals report greater empathy for youth sex trafficking victims, they may be more likely to suggest social services rather than legal consequences for these youth. Indeed, research has shown increased feelings of empathy towards child sexual abuse victims results in less punitive judgments for crimes the victims committed (Haegerich & Bottoms, 2000). Additionally, research with police officers found that the higher police officers scored in trait empathy, the more likely they were to use unconditional law enforcement in cases involving partner violence against women (i.e., arresting the attacker and protecting the victim regardless of the victim's willingness to press charges against the offender) (Lila et al., 2013). Also, as previously described, Silver and colleagues (2015) demonstrated high levels of empathy appears to lower levels of victim blame and predict proactive behaviors to fight sex trafficking (e.g.,

donate money, become politically active, talk with others about the problem, alert law enforcement or social services, or offer personal resources such as food and clothing). If individuals invoke or are encouraged to invoke the instrumental goal of protecting the victim and increasing victim cooperation with law enforcement, they may be motivated to decrease their feelings of anger or disgust towards the CSTV and increase feelings of empathy to help them achieve that goal. Indeed, participants who expected sadness to increase their performance on analytical tasks were less likely to repair sad feelings by listening to happy music (Cohen & Andrade, 2004). Thus, individuals may engage in emotion regulation strategies if they believe the emotion will help them reach their goal.

CHAPTER 4: EXPERIMENT 1

Two experiments explored the influence of emotions on individuals' judgments of CSTVs. Specifically, Experiment 1 tested the relationship between experienced anger, disgust, and contempt towards a CSTV and judgment of the case. The study varied the youth's sex, vulnerability background, and prior arrest history for commercial sex acts, as well as the trafficker's sex. Additionally, participants completed surveys that measured their endorsement of human trafficking myths and their attitudes towards gays and lesbians. Ultimately, the main research question for Experiment 1 sought to understand how individuals make judgments regarding CSTVs, and whether these judgments are influenced by participants' negative emotional response to CSTVs.

4.1 Hypotheses

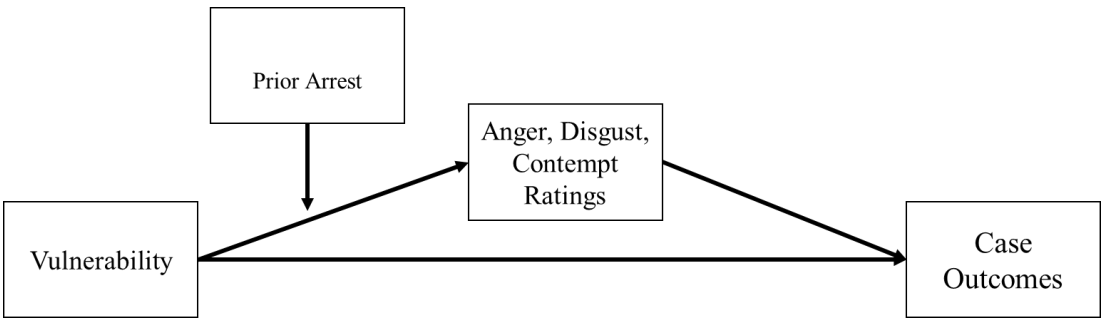
The purpose of Experiment 1 was to determine how individuals decided whether it is best to invoke legal sanctions or offer social services to sexually exploited minors who are survivors of sex trafficking. This study directly tested whether the experience of anger, disgust, and contempt towards the sexually exploited youth influenced case outcomes. The hypotheses included main effects for vulnerability, prior arrest, and youth sex. Specifically, participants would be more likely to recommend legal consequences over social services for youth who came from a non-vulnerable background as compared to youth who came from a vulnerable background. Additionally, participants would be more likely to recommend legal consequences over social services for youth who have a prior arrest for commercial sex acts as compared to youth who have no prior arrest for commercial sex acts. There were competing hypotheses for youth sex. First, participants would be more likely to recommend legal consequences over social services for male

trafficking victims as compared to females, as demonstrated in past qualitative research (Cole, 2018). Alternatively, participants would be more likely to recommend legal consequences over social services for female trafficking victims as compared to males, as some scholars argue females are held to higher sexual standards as compared to males (Annitto, 2011).

The central hypothesis was that the experience of anger, disgust, and contempt would mediate the relationship between the interaction of past vulnerability and prior arrest for commercial sex acts on case outcomes (See Figure 4.1). Specifically, individuals who read a vignette about a non-vulnerable trafficked youth with no prior arrest for commercial sex acts would report greater levels of anger, disgust, and contempt towards that youth, which in turn will predict decisions to invoke legal sanctions rather than offer social services (Menaker & Franklin, 2015; Wiener et al., in press). An additional exploratory hypothesis tested whether this relationship would be stronger for female or male sex trafficking victims.

Figure 4.1

Hypothesized Moderated Mediation Model for Experiment 1



To summarize, the specific hypotheses predicted:

1. a main effect for vulnerability, such that participants would be more likely to recommend legal consequences over social services for youth who came from a non-vulnerable background as compared to youth who came from a vulnerable background.

2. a main effect for prior arrest history, such that participants would be more likely to recommend legal consequences over social services for youth who had a prior arrest for commercial sex acts as compared to youth who had no prior arrest for commercial sex acts.

3a. a main effect for youth sex, such that participants would be more likely to recommend legal consequences over social services for male trafficking victims as compared to females, as demonstrated in past qualitative research (Cole, 2018).

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3b. a main effect for youth sex, such that participants would be more likely to recommend legal consequences over social services for female trafficking victims as compared to males, as some scholars argue females are held to higher sexual standards as compared to males (Annitto, 2011).

4. an interaction between vulnerability and prior arrest history, such that participants would be more likely to recommend legal consequences over social services for youth who come from a non-vulnerable background and had no prior arrest for commercial sex acts (Wiener et al., in press).

5. a moderated mediation model (Figure 4.1), such that participants would report greater anger, disgust, and contempt towards a youth who comes from a non-

vulnerable background and has no prior arrest for commercial sex acts, which in turn would predict a greater willingness to offer legal consequences over social services.

4.2 Methods

Participants and Recruitment

The study conformed to a 2 (youth vulnerability background: vulnerable vs. non vulnerable) x 2 (trafficker gender: male vs. female) x 2 (youth gender: male vs female) x 2 (youth prior arrest: second prostitution arrest vs. no previous arrest) between subjects design. Participants were workers recruited from Amazon's Mechanical Turk, an online participant workforce. Of the 780 respondents, 61 took too little time (less than 5 minutes) and 29 took too long (more than 46 minutes) to provide accurate and undistracted answers. Eight participants failed more than one attention check (n = 8). Six-hundred and fifty-two participants (96.8%) did not fail any attention checks, and only 30 participants (4.3%) missed one attention check. After removing these respondents, the final sample consisted of 682 participants. The average age was 39.10 (SD = 13.18). Four-hundred and sixteen participants were assigned female at birth (61.3%) and 263 (38.7%) were assigned male. Four-hundred and ten participants identified as a woman (60.2%), 262 as a man (38.5%), 2 as trans woman (0.3%), 2 as trans man (0.3%), 2 as gender fluid (0.3%), and 2 as non-binary (0.3%). Five-hundred and forty-five (80.3%) participants identified as heterosexual, 90 (13.3%) as bisexual, 13 as Lesbian (1.9%), and 9 as gay (1.3%). Four-hundred and ninety-seven participants (73%) identified as White, 83 (12.2%) as Black, 46 (6.8%) as Asian American or Pacific Islander, 38 (6.6%) as Latinx or Hispanic, 5 (.7%) as Native American, and 12 (1.7%) indicated other. The

participant sample was generally well educated, with 113 (16.6%) finishing graduate or professional school, 34 (5.0%) attending some graduate school, 278 (40.8%) graduating college, 183 (26.8%) attending some college, 69 (10.1%) finishing high school, and only 5 (0.7%) reporting they had not finished high school. Two-hundred and eighty-one participants (41.2%) identified as Democrats, 178 (26.1%) as Republicans, and 192 (28.2%) indicated no political affiliation. Participants completed the study materials using a computer of their choice on the Qualtrics website, an online survey platform. Participants received a stipend of $0.50 for their participation.

Design and Procedure

After providing informed consent, half of participants completed the human trafficking myths scale (Cunningham & Cromer, 2016), the attitude toward gay and lesbian scale (Herek, 1984), and the demographics. Then, participants were randomly assigned to read one of 16 case vignettes depicting a scenario in which the police picked up a 16-year-old girl (“Sarah”) or boy (“Chris”) for commercial sex acts. Next, participants answered manipulation check questions, indicated their emotions by rating the extent to which they felt anger, disgust, and contempt towards the youth in the vignette, and answered questions regarding their perceptions of the case, including victim blame, culpability, and appropriate case outcomes, all described below. Half of participants completed the human trafficking myths scale, the attitude toward gay and lesbian scale, and the demographics at the end of the survey. Lastly, participants read a debriefing statement and received their payment. Appendix B lists the manipulation checks, the PANAS scale, the outcome measures, the Human Trafficking Myths Scale and the Attitudes toward Gays and Lesbians scale.

Materials and Measures

Case Vignettes. The vignettes depicted a scenario in which the police picked up a 16-year-old girl ("Sarah") or boy ("Chris") for commercial sex acts. The facts in the two vignettes combined findings from past experimental studies (see Wiener et al., in press; Menaker & Franklin, 2015) and qualitative studies (see Cole, 2018) to accurately portray realistic experiences of sex trafficked youth. The design varied whether Sarah (or Chris) (i.e., the gender manipulation) who came from a stable home environment (i.e., non-vulnerable condition) or an abusive home environment (i.e., vulnerable condition) when they met "John" or "Joan" (i.e., the trafficker gender condition) for whom they began performing commercial sex acts. (Note: the design varied the gender of the trafficker as a control factor so that it included both male and female victims in both straight and gay relationships with the trafficker so as not to confound gender of the victim with a straight versus a gay relationship with the trafficker.) Finally, in the vulnerable condition, participants either read that Sarah (Chris) grew up in a poor neighborhood and suffered physical and psychological abuse at the hands or her (his) parents who were unable to provide a stable home life for their two children. In the non-vulnerable condition, participants read that Sarah (Chris) grew up in a middle-class neighborhood where she (he) achieved good grades and her (his) parents provided a financially stable home for their two children (See Wiener et al., in press). In both conditions, participants read that Sarah (Chris) ran away from home and made friends with John (Joan) who promised a place to live and financial support if she (he) performed commercial sex acts with his (her) friends and eventually with strangers. Additionally, the design manipulated the youth's previous sexual activity by indicating whether this was the first time the police

had picked up Sarah (Chris) (i.e., no prior arrest condition) or the second time the police have picked up Sarah (Chris) (i.e., prior arrest condition). The Qualtrics program randomly assigned participants to one of sixteen cells in this completely crossed design. Appendix A provides the full vignettes for the 16 experimental conditions.

Manipulation Checks. Participants answered four questions to measure the success of the manipulations. First, participants responded to the question, "*What was the gender (sex) of the trafficker in the vignette?*" to which they may have answered "male", "female" or "unknown". Second, participants responded to the question, "*What was the gender (sex) of the youth trafficking survivor in the vignette*?" to which they answered "male", "female" or "unknown". Additionally, participants answered yes, no, or unknown to the question "*Before the trafficking occurred, had Sarah (Chris) ever sold herself (himself) for sex?*". Lastly, participants indicated on a 1 (*Not at all vulnerable*) to 7 (*Very vulnerable*) scale the extent to which they thought "Sarah (Chris) was vulnerable at home growing up before the trafficking occurred".

Moral Emotions. After reading the vignette, participants completed a modified Positive and Negative Affect Scale (PANAS; Watson & Clark, 1994) measuring their experienced anger, disgust, and contempt towards Sarah (or Chris). Specifically, participants rated their disgust, contempt, and anger using a modified Positive and Negative Affect Scale (PANAS) indicating the extent to which they felt disgust (i.e., queasy, repelled, disgust, revolted, repugnant, sick to stomach, distaste, sickened, grossed out, shocked), contempt (i.e., despise, detested, disrespect, appalled, contempt, hatred, disdain, abhorrence, scorn, displeased), and angry (i.e., hostile, angry, irritated, incensed, vexed, loathing, irked, mad, furious, and enraged) on a 1 (*not at all*) to 5 (*extremely*)

scale. All scales were highly reliable and correlated (α's > 0.95, *r*'s > .914) and the 30 items loaded onto one factor in an exploratory factor analysis resulting in one combined moral emotions scale (*Range*: 1-5, α = 0.99, *M* = 2.03, *SD* = 1.15) with high scores indicating more negative moral emotions (i.e., anger, disgust and contempt).

Outcome Measures. Participants indicated on separate 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 6 (*strongly agree*) scales the extent to which they agree that Sarah/Chris) should receive each of three possible outcomes: (a) "legal interventions" (e.g., diversion, secure detention, formal arrest), (b) "social services interventions" (e.g., counseling services, emergency shelter, forensic medical exam, STD testing, basic services, and psychoeducation) (Menaker & Franklin, 2015), and (c) no interventions (e.g., the police let Sarah/Chris leave without making arrangements for any victim services). Additionally, participants indicated how certain they are that the police should provide Sarah (Chris) legal interventions, social services interventions, or no interventions on a 1 (*not at all certain*) to 10 (*completely certain*) scale. Participants also indicated the extent to which Sarah (Chris) is "blameful for the situation", "responsible for the situation", and "the cause of the situation" on separate Likert type agreement indices 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 6 (*strongly agree*) (Menaker & Franklin, 2015). These three items formed a reliable victim responsibility scale (*Range*: 1-6, α = 0.94, *M* = 2.48, *SD* = 1.47) with higher scores indicating more victim responsibility. Lastly, participants indicated how credible they perceived Sarah (Chris) to be by indicating the extent to which her (his) version of events was believable on a 1 (*totally unbelievable*) to 6 (*totally believable*) scale. Appendix B contains all outcome measures.

Attitudes Toward Gay and Lesbian Scale. Participants completed the Attitudes toward Gays and Lesbians Scale (ATLG) (Herek, 1984) which contains 20 items formatted into two 10-item subscales: Attitudes Toward Lesbians (ATL) and Attitudes toward Gay Men (ATG). Example questions include "*Lesbians just can't fit into our society*" and "*I think homosexual males are disgusting*." Higher scores indicate greater negative attitudes towards lesbians and gay men on the respective scales, which past research has consistently demonstrated as reliable (*alpha* ATLG = .90, *alpha* ATL = .77, and *alpha* ATG = .89) (Herek, 1984; Herek, 1988). In the current sample, all subscales and the total scale were reliable (ATGLS *Range*: 1-5, α = 0.96, *M* = 2.04, *SD* = 1.06; ATL *Range*: 1-5, α = 0.93, *M* = 2.01, *SD* = 1.05; ATG *Range*: 1-5, α = 0.93, *M* = 2.08, *SD* = 1.10). The moderation analyses to follow utilized the ATGLS total scale.

Human Trafficking Myths Scale. Lastly, participants completed the human trafficking myths scale (Cunningham & Cromer, 2016), which contains 17 questions pertaining to their beliefs in human trafficking myths on a 1 (*definitely false*) to 6 (*definitely true*) scale, with higher scores indicating stronger belief in human trafficking myths. Example questions include: *"If someone did not want to be trafficked, he or she would leave the situation*" and "*Normal-appearing, well-educated, middle-class people are not trafficked*". Past research has demonstrated strong reliability (α = .81) and validity for Cunningham and Cromer's (2016) scale. Indeed, the scale was reliable in the current sample as well (*Range*: 1-5.71, *M* = 2.57, *SD* = 1.10, *α* = .95).

Demographics. Participants answered basic demographic questions, assessing race, sex, gender identity, sexual orientation, age, and political orientation among other questions (See Appendix B).

4.3 Results

Overview

The section begins with an analysis of the manipulation checks for the experimental factors. Next, the main analyses focus on two outcome measures which indicate the extent to which participants prefer recommending social services over legal consequences for the youth in the vignettes. Specifically, the main dependent measure of interest was the difference between participants' agreement ratings in favor of legal consequences and their agreement ratings to recommend social services, which resulted in an index labelled, social services over legal agreement (*Range*: -4 to 5, *M* = 2.46, *SD* = 2.10, skewness = -0.32, kurtosis = -1.10). Higher scores on this variable indicated a greater preference for recommending social services over legal consequences. The same process for the certainty factors resulted in a second index called, social services over legal certainty (*Range*: -9 - 9, *M* = 4.45, *SD* = 3.88, skewness = -0.25, kurtosis = -1.21). Higher scores on this variable indicated greater certainty for recommending social services over legal consequences. (Note: Analyses of the no interventions measure produced no significant effects. The results section below does not report on these analyses, but Appendix C presents the statistical tables showing the no result effects.) The results section continues with a series of MANOVA and ANOVA models that treated both the agreement and certainty indices as outcome measures and tested the effects of victim vulnerability, prior arrest, youth sex, and trafficker sex and their interactions. Next, are a series of ANOVA models that tested three potential mediators: moral emotions, victim responsibility, and victim believability. Finally, a series of Hayes

(2018) PROCESS 3.2 programs explored interactions among the independent variables and tested the evidence for the hypothesized moderated mediation.

Manipulation Checks

Youth Sex. 90.2% of participants correctly answered the youth sex manipulation check in the Sarah (female) condition, and 92.24% of participants correctly answered in the Chris (male) condition. Overall, for participants who indicated they remembered the youth's sex, 91.2% answered correctly.

Trafficker Sex. 86.94% of participants correctly answered the trafficker sex manipulation check in the Joan (female) condition, and 92.84% correctly answered in the John (male) condition. Overall, participants remembered the trafficker's sex correctly, 89.88% of the time.

Prior Arrest. 88.68% of participants correctly answered the prior arrest manipulation check in the no prior arrest / first arrest condition, and 67.45% of participants correctly answered in the second arrest condition. Overall, 78.41% of participants accurately remembered the youths prior arrest activity.

Vulnerability. An independent sample *t*-test measured the extent to which participants perceived the youth's vulnerability prior to her or his experiences with the trafficker in the vignette. As expected, participants in the vulnerable condition (M = 6.10, SD = 1.17) rated the youth as significantly more vulnerable as compared to participants in the non-vulnerable condition (M = 3.89, SD = 1.82), $t(678) = -18.85$, $p < .001$, $d = 1.45$, CI_d = 1.28-1.61.

In summary, the manipulation checks show moderate success in manipulating youth sex, trafficker sex, prior arrest history, and vulnerability. The analyses to follow

did not drop participants based on incorrect responses on the manipulation checks because doing so would have compromised the random assignment and threatened the internal validity of the design with subject attrition. Instead, these analyses followed the more conservative approach of testing the effects of the manipulation as it was delivered to preserve random assignment (Reichardt, 2011; Shadish, Cook, & Campbell, 2002). All decisions about the final sample were made before any of the following analyses were conducted.

MANOVA

A 2 (youth vulnerability background: vulnerable vs. non vulnerable) x 2 (trafficker sex: male vs. female) x 2 (youth sex: male vs female) x 2 (youth prior arrest: second prostitution arrest vs. no previous arrest) MANOVA explored the effects of the independent variables on the extent to which participants agreed the youth should receive social services over legal consequences and how certain they were that the youth should receive social services over legal consequences. There were multivariate effects for prior arrest, $\lambda = 0.99$, *Mult.* $F(2, 654) = 4.32$, $p = .014$, $\eta p^2 = .013$, youth vulnerability, $\lambda = 0.99$, *Mult.* $F(2, 654) = 3.21$, $p = .041$, $\eta p^2 = .010$, and a three-way interaction between prior arrest, youth sex, and trafficker sex, $\lambda = 0.99$, *Mult.* $F(2, 654) = 3.24$, $p = .040$, $\eta p^2 = .010$. ANOVA analyses using a series of 2 (youth vulnerability background: vulnerable vs. non vulnerable) x 2 (trafficker sex: male vs. female) x 2 (youth sex: male vs female) x 2 (youth prior arrest: second prostitution arrest vs. no previous arrest) between-subjects models served as follow-up tests to the multivariate results.

Social Services over Legal Agreement. Table 4.1 displays the univariate analysis of variance results for the extent to which participants agreed the youth in the

vignette should receive social services over legal consequences. As displayed, there were main effects for prior arrest and youth sex (p = .052), although these main effects were qualified by a three-way interaction between prior arrest, youth gender, and trafficker gender. First, for the prior arrest main effect, participants were more likely to recommend social services over legal consequences when the youth had no prior arrests (M =2.69, SD = 2.11) as compared to when the youth had a previous arrest for commercial sex acts (M = 2.24, SD = 2.07), $t(673) = 2.78$, p = .006, d = 0.21, CI_d = 0.06 – 0.37. Additionally, participants were marginally more likely to recommend social services over legal consequences for Chris (male youth condition: M = 2.62, SD = 2.06) as compared to Sarah (female youth condition: M = 2.31, SD = 2.14), $t(673) = 1.91$, p = .052, d = .15, CI_d = 0.00 - 0.30.

Table 4.1

Analysis of Variance Results of Vulnerability, Prior Arrest, Youth Sex, and Trafficker Sex on Agreement and Certainty Indices

Effect	*MS(error)*	*F*	*df*	*p*	ηp^2
Social Services Over Legal Consequences Agreement					
Vulnerability	4.13	0.95	1, 655	.331	.001
Prior Arrest	33.60	7.69	1, 655	.006	.012
Youth Sex	16.52	3.78	1, 655	.052	.006
Trafficker Sex	3.44	0.79	1, 655	.375	.001
Prior Arrest * Vulnerability	0.05	0.01	1, 655	.912	.000
Prior Arrest * Youth Sex	1.36	0.31	1, 655	.577	.000
Prior Arrest * Trafficker Sex	2.89	0.67	1, 655	.417	.001
Vulnerability * Youth Sex	1.72	0.39	1, 655	.531	.001

Vulnerability * Trafficker Sex	7.39	1.69	1, 655	.194	.003
Youth Sex * Trafficker Sex	0.00	0.00	1, 655	.974	.000
Prior Arrest * Vulnerability * Youth Sex	6.00	1.37	1, 655	.241	.002
Prior Arrest *Vulnerability * Trafficker Sex	10.20	2.34	1, 655	.127	.004
Prior Arrest * Youth Sex * Trafficker Sex	28.26	6.47	1, 655	.011	.010
Vulnerability * Youth Sex * Trafficker Sex	1.13	0.26	1, 655	.611	.000
Prior Arrest * Vulnerability * Youth Sex * Trafficker Sex	0.01	0.00	1, 655	.972	.000

Effect	*MS(error)*	*F*	*df*	*p*	ηp^2
Social Services Over Legal Consequences Certainty					
Vulnerability	74.29	5.03	1, 655	.025	.008
Prior Arrest	112.77	7.64	1, 655	.006	.012
Youth Sex	20.91	1.42	1, 655	.235	.002
Trafficker Sex	3.50	0.24	1, 655	.627	.000
Prior Arrest * Vulnerability	3.43	0.23	1, 655	.630	.000
Prior Arrest * Youth Sex	1.22	0.08	1, 655	.774	.000
Prior Arrest * Trafficker Sex	15.79	1.07	1, 655	.301	.002
Vulnerability * Youth Sex	4.45	0.30	1, 655	.583	.000
Vulnerability * Trafficker Sex	22.80	1.54	1, 655	.214	.002
Youth Sex * Trafficker Sex	18.94	1.28	1, 655	.258	.002
Prior Arrest * Vulnerability * Youth Sex	1.82	0.12	1, 655	.726	.000
Prior Arrest *Vulnerability * Trafficker Sex	8.97	0.61	1, 655	.436	.001
Prior Arrest * Youth Sex * Trafficker Sex	62.37	4.22	1, 655	.040	.006
Vulnerability * Youth Sex * Trafficker Sex	13.61	0.92	1, 655	.337	.001

Prior Arrest * Vulnerability * Youth Sex * Trafficker Sex	8.74	0.59	1, 655	.442	.001

Splitting the file on youth and trafficker sex allowed simple effect tests for the three-way interaction, which showed a main effect for prior arrest in the male victim and female trafficker condition, such that participants were more likely to recommend social services over legal consequences when Chris had no prior arrest (*EMM* = 3.25) as compared to when he had a previous arrest (*EMM* = 2.16), $F(1, 163) = 11.91$, $p = .001$, $\eta p^2 = .068$, but only when the female was the trafficker. There was no main effect of prior arrest in any other conditions (F's < 3.65, $p > .058$, ηp^2's < .03). Thus, participants appear to be the most sensitive to the youth's previous arrest history when the youth is male and trafficker was a female. When they read about a female youth (Sarah), participants did not differ on their recommendations for social services over legal consequences based on her prior arrest history.

Social Services over Legal Certainty. Table 4.1 also displays the effects for the manipulated variables on the extent to which participants were certain that the youth should receive social services over legal consequences. There were main effects for vulnerability and prior arrest history, as well as a three-way interaction between youth sex, trafficker sex, and prior arrest history. First, for the vulnerability main effect, participants were more certain that the authorities should arrange social services over legal consequences when the youth came from a vulnerable background ($M = 4.81$, $SD = 3.74$) as compared to when the youth came from a non-vulnerable background ($M = 4.10$, $SD = 3.98$), $t(671) = 2.39$, $p = .017$, $d = 0.18$, $CI_d = 0.03 – 0.34$. Additionally,

participants were more certain of recommending social services over legal consequences when the youth had no prior arrest for commercial sex acts (M = 4.87, SD = 3.87) as compared to when the youth had a previous arrest for commercial sex acts (M = 4.03 SD = 3.85), $t(671) = 2.80$, $p = .005$, $d = 0.22$, $CI_d = 0.06 – 0.37$.

Similar to the above analysis, after splitting the file on youth sex and trafficker sex, a main effect emerged for prior arrest in the male trafficked by a female condition, such that participants were more certain in their recommendations of social services over legal consequences when Chris had no prior arrest (EMM = 5.80) as compared to when he had a previous arrest (EMM = 3.98), $F(1, 161) = 9.91$, $p = .002$, $\eta p^2 = .058$ when Joan was the trafficker. There was no main effect of prior arrest in any other conditions (F's < 2.28, $p > .12$, ηp^2's< .015). Once again, participants appear to be the most sensitive to the youth's previous arrest history when the youth is male and trafficked by a female.

Moderation Analyses. The following models explored potential moderation effects with participant gender, attitudes toward gays and lesbians (ATGLS), and human trafficking myth acceptance serving as moderators in the multivariate analysis of the independent variables on social services of legal consequences agreement and certainty. Participant gender was recoded such that there were two levels of gender: woman and man. An analysis of variance model served as a follow-up for each potential moderator (i.e., participant gender, ATGLS and human trafficking myths). Each significant main that emerged was a possible moderator for the moderated mediation path model to follow.

Gender. There were multivariate main effects for participant gender, $\lambda = 0.98$, *Mult*. $F(2, 643) = 8.19$, $p < .001$, $\eta p^2 = .025$, and vulnerability, $\lambda = 0.99$, *Mult*. $F(2, 643) =$

3.38, $p = .035$, $\eta p^2 = .010$. There was also a marginally significant three-way interaction between prior arrest history, youth gender, and trafficker gender, ($\lambda = 0.99$, *Mult*. $F(2, 643) = 2.91$, $p = .055$, $\eta p^2 = .009$. Table 4.2 displays the univariate follow-ups for social services over legal consequences agreement and social services over legal consequences certainty.

Table 4.2

Analysis of Variance with Participant Gender as a Moderator and with Vulnerability, Prior Arrest, Youth Sex, and Trafficker Sex as Manipulated Factors on Agreement and Certainty Indices

Effect	*MS(error)*	*F*	*df*	*p*	ηp^2
Social Services Over Legal Consequences Agreement					
Participant Gender	64.88	15.08	1, 644	.000	.023
Vulnerability	1.30	0.30	1, 644	.582	.000
Prior Arrest	1.00	0.23	1, 644	.630	.000
Youth Sex	0.09	0.02	1, 644	.886	.000
Trafficker Sex	4.91	1.14	1, 644	.286	.002
Participant Gender * Prior Arrest	0.78	0.18	1, 644	.671	.000
Participant Gender * Vulnerability	0,26	0.06	1, 644	.436	.001
Participant Gender * Youth Sex	1.19	0.28	1, 644	.600	.000
Participant Gender * Trafficker Sex	2.62	0.61	1, 644	.436	.001
Prior Arrest * Vulnerability	0.20	0.05	1, 644	.828	.000
Prior Arrest * Youth Sex	0.79	0.18	1, 644	.669	.000
Prior Arrest * Trafficker Sex	2.71	0.63	1, 644	.428	.001
Vulnerability * Youth Sex	0.83	0.19	1, 644	.660	.000
Vulnerability * Trafficker Sex	3.95	0.92	1, 644	.338	.001
Youth Sex * Trafficker Sex	0.13	0.03	1, 644	.864	.000
Prior Arrest * Vulnerability * Youth Sex	7.32	1.70	1, 644	.193	.003
Prior Arrest *Vulnerability * Trafficker Sex	3.82	0.89	1, 644	.347	.001
Prior Arrest * Youth Sex * Trafficker Sex	25.05	5.82	1, 644	.016	.009
Vulnerability * Youth Sex * Trafficker Sex	0.20	0.05	1, 644	.828	.000

Prior Arrest * Vulnerability * Youth Sex * Trafficker Sex	0.06	0.01	1, 644	.905	.000

Effect	*MS(error)*	*F*	*df*	*p*	ηp^2
Social Services Over Legal Consequences Certainty					
Participant Gender	200.27	13.79	1, 644	.000	.021
Vulnerability	61.48	4.23	1, 644	.040	.007
Prior Arrest	25.53	1.76	1, 644	.185	.003
Youth Sex	0.94	0.06	1, 644	.800	.000
Trafficker Sex	12.89	0.89	1, 644	.347	.001
Participant Gender * Prior Arrest	3.49	0.24	1, 644	.624	.000
Participant Gender * Vulnerability	27.74	1.91	1, 644	.167	.003
Participant Gender * Youth Sex	7.02	0.48	1, 644	.487	.001
Participant Gender * Trafficker Sex	8.63	0.59	1, 644	.441	.001
Prior Arrest * Vulnerability	6.99	0.48	1, 644	.488	.001
Prior Arrest * Youth Sex	0.23	0.02	1, 644	.900	.000
Prior Arrest * Trafficker Sex	11.90	0.82	1, 644	.366	.001
Vulnerability * Youth Sex	3.04	0.21	1, 644	.648	.000
Vulnerability * Trafficker Sex	14.13	0.97	1, 644	.324	.002
Youth Sex * Trafficker Sex	26.93	1.85	1, 644	.174	.003
Prior Arrest * Vulnerability * Youth Sex	2.39	0.16	1, 644	.685	.000
Prior Arrest *Vulnerability * Trafficker Sex	0.92	0.06	1, 644	.802	.000
Prior Arrest * Youth Sex * Trafficker Sex	53.26	3.67	1, 644	.056	.006
Vulnerability * Youth Sex * Trafficker Sex	6.05	0.42	1, 644	.519	.001
Prior Arrest * Vulnerability * Youth Sex * Trafficker Sex	8.96	0.62	1, 644	.432	.001

First, for the social services over legal consequences agreement outcome variable, there was a main effect for participant gender and a significant three-way interaction between prior arrest, youth gender, and trafficker gender. For the gender main effect, women (M = 2.74, SD = 2.09) were more likely to recommend social services over legal consequences as compared to men (M = 2.03, SD = 2.06), $t(667) = 4.25$, $p < .001$, d =

0.34, CI_d = 0.18 – 0.49. The other effect did not change from their descriptions above for the models that did not include covariates.

Similar to the agreement variable, results did not differ when controlling for participant gender on the extent to which participants were certain they preferred social services over legal consequences. As displayed in Table 4.2, there were main effects for participant gender and vulnerability, and a marginally significant three-way interaction between prior arrest, youth sex, and trafficker sex. As with the agreement variable, women (M = 4.93, SD = 3.82) were more certain of recommending social services over legal consequences as compared to men (M = 3.69, SD = 3.85), $t(665) = 4.07$, $p < .001$, d = 0.32, CI_d = 0.17 – 0.48. The other effects did not change from their descriptions above in the models that did not test moderation.

Human Trafficking Myths. The initial multivariate analysis produced a main effect for the trafficking myth scale (λ = 0.67, *Mult.* $F(2, 649) = 156.85$, $p < .001$, ηp^2= .326) and a marginally significant three-way interaction between prior arrest, vulnerability, and trafficker sex, λ = 0.99, *Mult*. $F(2, 649) = 2.38$, $p = .094$, ηp^2= .007. Table 4.3 displays follow up univariate analyses for the agreement measure, showed that for the main effect of trafficking myth acceptance, participants who had a greater acceptance of trafficking myths were less likely to recommend social services over legal consequences, $r(673) = -0.55$, $p < .001$. The other new effect was the three-way interaction between prior arrest, vulnerability, and trafficker sex. After splitting the file on prior arrest and vulnerability, a main effect for trafficker sex emerged when youth had a previous arrest and was not from a vulnerable background, $F(1, 171) = 7.05$, $p = .009$, ηp^2= .040. In this condition, participants were more likely to recommend social services

over legal consequences when the trafficker was a female (*EMM* = 2.50) as compared to when the trafficker was a male (*EMM* = 1.82). There was no main effect of trafficker sex in all other conditions (*F*'s < 1.16, $p > .27$, ηp^2's < .008).

Table 4.3

Analysis of Variance with Trafficking Myth Scale as a Moderator and with Vulnerability, Prior Arrest, Youth Sex, and Trafficker Sex as Manipulated Factors on Agreement and Certainty Indices

Effect	*MS(error)*	*F*	*df*	*p*	ηp^2
Social Services Over Legal Consequences Agreement					
Trafficking Myth Scale	868.27	285.94	1, 650	.000	.306
Vulnerability	0.97	0.32	1, 650	.572	.000
Prior Arrest	3.15	1.04	1, 650	.309	.002
Youth Sex	3.56	1.17	1, 650	.279	.002
Trafficker Sex	4.21	1.39	1, 650	.239	.002
Trafficking Myth Scale * Prior Arrest	0.04	0.01	1, 650	.907	.000
Trafficking Myth Scale * Vulnerability	2.39	0.79	1, 650	.376	.001
Trafficking Myth Scale * Youth Sex	0.11	0.04	1, 650	.846	.000
Trafficking Myth Scale * Trafficker Sex	10.70	3.53	1, 650	.061	.005
Prior Arrest * Vulnerability	0.00	0.00	1, 650	.990	.000
Prior Arrest * Youth Sex	0.07	0.02	1, 650	.881	.000
Prior Arrest * Trafficker Sex	0.25	0.08	1, 650	.775	.000
Vulnerability * Youth Sex	0.50	0.16	1, 650	.685	.000
Vulnerability * Trafficker Sex	8.21	2.71	1, 650	.101	.004
Youth Sex * Trafficker Sex	3.02	0.99	1, 650	.319	.002
Prior Arrest * Vulnerability * Youth Sex	3.03	1.00	1, 650	.318	.002
Prior Arrest *Vulnerability * Trafficker Sex	14.10	4.64	1, 650	.032	.007
Prior Arrest * Youth Sex * Trafficker Sex	13.27	4.37	1, 650	.037	.007
Vulnerability * Youth Sex * Trafficker Sex	1.48	0.49	1, 650	.485	.001
Prior Arrest * Vulnerability * Youth Sex * Trafficker Sex	1.17	0.39	1, 650	.535	.001

Effect	*MS(error)*	*F*	*df*	*p*	ηp^2
Social Services Over Legal Consequences Certainty					
Trafficking Myth Scale	2561.42	236.31	1, 650	.000	.267
Vulnerability	0.36	0.03	1, 650	.855	.000
Prior Arrest	9.56	0.88	1, 650	.348	.001
Youth Sex	2.75	0.25	1, 650	.615	.000
Trafficker Sex	9.95	0.92	1, 650	.338	.001
Trafficking Myth Scale * Prior Arrest	0.02	0.00	1, 650	.969	.000
Trafficking Myth Scale * Vulnerability	13.16	1.21	1, 650	.271	.002
Trafficking Myth Scale * Youth Sex	0.02	0.00	1, 650	.967	.000
Trafficking Myth Scale * Trafficker Sex	21.61	1.99	1, 650	.158	.003
Prior Arrest * Vulnerability	2.02	0.19	1, 650	.666	.000
Prior Arrest * Youth Sex	0.24	0.02	1, 650	.883	.000
Prior Arrest * Trafficker Sex	3.48	0.32	1, 650	.571	.000
Vulnerability * Youth Sex	1.13	0.10	1, 650	.747	.000
Vulnerability * Trafficker Sex	25.83	2.38	1, 650	.123	.004
Youth Sex * Trafficker Sex	52.00	4.80	1, 650	.029	.007
Prior Arrest * Vulnerability * Youth Sex	0.00	0.00	1, 650	.982	.000
Prior Arrest *Vulnerability * Trafficker Sex	15.90	1.47	1, 650	.226	.002
Prior Arrest * Youth Sex * Trafficker Sex	24.80	2.29	1, 650	.131	.004
Vulnerability * Youth Sex * Trafficker Sex	15.87	1.46	1, 650	.227	.002
Prior Arrest * Vulnerability * Youth Sex * Trafficker Sex	0.80	0.07	1, 650	.786	.000

Table 4.3 also displays a main effect for trafficking myth scale on participants certainty to recommend social services over legal consequences. Additionally, there was a significant two-way interaction between youth sex and trafficker sex. Similar to the agreement variable, participants with higher acceptance of human trafficking myths were less certain in their recommendations of social services over legal consequences, $r(671) = -0.52$, $p < .001$. For the two-way interaction between youth sex and trafficker sex, after splitting the file on trafficker sex there was a significant main effect of youth sex for the

female trafficker condition, $F(1, 327) = 6.74$, $p = .010$, $\eta p^2 = .020$, but not the male trafficker condition, $F(1, 328) = 0.29$, $p = .590$, $\eta p^2 = .001$. When participants read about a female trafficker, they were more certain in their recommendations of social services over legal consequences for Chris (male youth condition, *EMM* = 5.01) than for Sarah (female youth condition, *EMM* = 4.08).

ATGLS. For the last potential moderator, a multivariate main effect for ATGLS, $\lambda = 0.78$, *Mult*. $F(2, 647) = 90.82$, $p < .001$, $\eta p^2 = .219$, resulted as did a significant two-way interaction between ATGLS and trafficker sex, $\lambda = 0.99$, *Mult*. $F(2, 647) = 3.37$, $p = .035$, $\eta p^2 = .010$. Table 4.4 displays the univariate effects on social services over legal consequences agreement and certainty when controlling for ATGLS.

Table 4.4

Analysis of Variance with the ATLGS Scale as a Moderator and with Vulnerability, Prior Arrest, Youth Sex, and Trafficker Sex as Manipulated Factors on Agreement and Certainty Indices

Effect	*MS(error)*	*F*	*df*	*p*	ηp^2
Social Services Over Legal Consequences Agreement					
ATGLS	572.65	164.43	1, 648	.000	.202
Vulnerability	0.21	0.06	1, 648	.806	.000
Prior Arrest	0.60	0.17	1, 648	.678	.000
Youth Sex	0.11	0.03	1, 648	.859	.000
Trafficker Sex	4.89	1.40	1, 648	.237	.002
ATGLS * Prior Arrest	2.44	0.70	1, 648	.403	.001
ATGLS * Vulnerability	0.02	0.01	1, 648	.943	.000
ATGLS * Youth Sex	3.51	1.01	1, 648	.316	.002
ATGLS * Trafficker Sex	19.86	5.70	1, 648	.017	.009
Prior Arrest * Vulnerability	0.19	0.05	1, 648	.817	.000
Prior Arrest * Youth Sex	0.95	0.27	1, 648	.602	.000
Prior Arrest * Trafficker Sex	3.41	0.98	1, 648	.323	.002
Vulnerability * Youth Sex	0.57	0.16	1, 648	.687	.000

Vulnerability * Trafficker Sex	8.54	2.45	1, 648	.118	.004
Youth Sex * Trafficker Sex	0.28	0.08	1, 648	.778	.000
Prior Arrest * Vulnerability * Youth Sex	3.44	0.99	1, 648	.321	.002
Prior Arrest *Vulnerability * Trafficker Sex	8.85	2.54	1, 648	.111	.004
Prior Arrest * Youth Sex * Trafficker Sex	15.90	4.57	1, 648	.033	.007
Vulnerability * Youth Sex * Trafficker Sex	5.29	1.52	1, 648	.218	.002
Prior Arrest * Vulnerability * Youth Sex * Trafficker Sex	0.23	0.07	1, 648	.795	.000

Effect	*MS(error)*	*F*	*df*	*p*	ηp^2
Social Services Over Legal Consequences Certainty					
ATGLS	1754.32	145.81	1, 648	.000	.184
Vulnerability	6.73	0.56	1, 648	.455	.001
Prior Arrest	0.60	0.17	1, 648	.678	.000
Youth Sex	0.11	0.03	1, 648	.859	.000
Trafficker Sex	4.89	1.40	1, 648	.237	.002
ATGLS * Prior Arrest	3.84	0.32	1, 648	.572	.000
ATGLS * Vulnerability	0.68	0.06	1, 648	.812	.000
ATGLS * Youth Sex	21.50	1.79	1, 648	.182	.003
ATGLS * Trafficker Sex	70.44	5.85	1, 648	.017	.009
Prior Arrest * Vulnerability	0.51	0.04	1, 648	.837	.000
Prior Arrest * Youth Sex	0.58	0.05	1, 648	.827	.000
Prior Arrest * Trafficker Sex	19.45	1.62	1, 648	.204	.002
Vulnerability * Youth Sex	0.92	0.08	1, 648	.783	.000
Vulnerability * Trafficker Sex	26.12	2.17	1, 648	.141	.003
Youth Sex * Trafficker Sex	25.72	2.14	1, 648	.144	.003
Prior Arrest * Vulnerability * Youth Sex	0.08	0.01	1, 648	.934	.000
Prior Arrest *Vulnerability * Trafficker Sex	6.45	0.54	1, 648	.464	.001
Prior Arrest * Youth Sex * Trafficker Sex	31.83	2.65	1, 648	.104	.004
Vulnerability * Youth Sex * Trafficker Sex	34.44	2.86	1, 648	.091	.004
Prior Arrest * Vulnerability * Youth Sex * Trafficker Sex	4.14	0.34	1, 648	.558	.001

First, for the agreement outcome variable, the main effect for ATGLS was qualified by a two-way interaction between ATGLS and trafficker sex. Additionally, there was a three-way interaction between prior arrest, youth sex, and trafficker sex. The only new effect to emerge was the interaction between ATGLS and trafficker sex. Using Hayes' (2018) Process Macro model 1 to explore the moderation effects, there was a significant difference on the likelihood of agreement for those who hold strong negative ATGLS, effect = -0.75, $t(669) = -3.25$, $p = .001$), such that participants were more likely

to agree to recommend social services over legal consequences when they read about a female trafficker (EMM = 1.66) as compared to a male trafficker (EMM = 0.92), but only when they hold strong negative ATGLS attitudes. This effect was not found for those who held low levels of ATGLS, effect = .02, $t(669) = 0.08$, $p = .939$, or moderate levels, effect = -0.15, $t(669) = -0.96$, $p = .338$.

For the certainty outcome variable, there was again a main effect for ATGLS and a two-way interaction between ATGLS and trafficker sex. Again, a new effect emerged for the interaction between ATGLS and trafficker sex. Similar to the agreement outcome variable, Hayes (2018) process model 1 showed that the difference between the likelihood of agreement was significant for those who held strong negative ATGLS attitudes, effect = -1.20, $t(667) = -2.83$, $p = .005$, such that participants were more certain to recommend social services over legal consequences when they read about a female trafficker (EMM = 2.98) as compared to a male trafficker (EMM = 1.78), but only when they hold strong negative ATGLS. This effect is not found for those who hold low levels of ATGLS, effect = .16, $t(667) = 0.42$, $p = .674$) or moderate levels, effect = -0.15, $t(667) = -0.49$, $p = .623$.

Mediation Analyses

Next, a set of 2 (youth vulnerability background: vulnerable vs. non vulnerable) x 2 (trafficker sex: male vs. female) x 2 (youth sex: male vs female) x 2 (youth prior arrest: second prostitution arrest vs. no previous arrest) between subjects ANOVA tested possible mediators using moral emotions, victim believability, and victim responsibility as dependent variables.

Moral Emotions. As displayed in Table 4.5, there was a significant main effect for prior arrest on negative moral emotions. Specifically, participants reported greater negative moral emotions when they read about a youth who had a previous arrest for commercial sex acts (M = 2.15, SD = 1.20) as compared to a youth who had no previous arrest (M = 1.91, SD = 1.10), $t(675) = 2.70$, $p = .007$, $d = 0.21$, $CI_d = 0.06 – 0.36$. There were no other significant effects on negative moral emotions.

Table 4.5

Analysis of Variance Results for Vulnerability, Prior Arrest, Youth Sex, and Trafficker Sex on Total Negative Moral Emotions

Effect	*SS*	*MS*	*F*	*df*	*p*	ηp^2
Vulnerability	1.47	1.47	1.10	1	.294	.002
Prior Arrest	9.60	9.60	7.22	1	.007	.011
Youth Sex	.00	.00	0.00	1	.976	.000
Trafficker Sex	.70	.70	0.53	1	.469	.001
Prior Arrest * Vulnerability	.40	.40	0.30	1	.586	.000
Prior Arrest * Youth Sex	2.34	2.34	1.76	1	.186	.003
Prior Arrest * Trafficker Sex	.16	.16	0.12	1	.731	.000
Vulnerability * Youth Sex	1.71	1.71	1.28	1	.258	.002
Vulnerability * Trafficker Sex	.07	.07	0.06	1	.814	.000
Youth Sex * Trafficker Sex	2.01	2.01	1.51	1	.220	.002
Prior Arrest * Vulnerability * Youth Sex	.37	.37	0.28	1	.599	.000
Prior Arrest *Vulnerability * Trafficker Sex	.01	.01	0.01	1	.937	.000
Prior Arrest * Youth Sex * Trafficker Sex	.48	.48	0.36	1	.550	.001
Vulnerability * Youth Sex * Trafficker Sex	.06	.06	0.04	1	.835	.000

Prior Arrest * Vulnerability * Youth Sex * Trafficker Sex	.39	.39	0.29	1	.591	.000
Error	879.23	1.33		661		

Believability. Table 4.6 displays a significant main effect for prior arrest and a marginally significant two-way interaction between prior arrest and youth sex on youth believability. Participants were more likely to believe the youth's version of events as believable when the youth had no prior arrest for commercial acts (M = 5.12, SD = 1.08) as compared to a youth who had a previous arrest (M = 4.86, SD = 1.14), $t(675) = 3.01$, p = .002, d = 0.24, CI_d = 0.09 – 0.39. This effect was qualified by a marginally significant two-way interaction between prior arrest and youth sex. After splitting the file on youth sex, a main effect for Sarah, $F(1, 332) = 10.96$, p = .001, ηp^2= .032, but not for Chris, $F(1, 329) = 1.93$, p = .166, ηp^2= .006) emerged. Specifically, participants reported less believability when Sarah had a prior arrest act (M = 4.71, SD = 1.24) as compared to when she had no prior arrest (M = 5.13, SD = 1.09), $t(338) = 3.35$, p = .001, d = 0.36, CI_d = 0.15 – 0.58. For Chris, perceptions of believability did not differ whether he had no prior arrest (M = 5.11, SD = 1.07) or a previous arrest (M = 5.01, SD = 1.01), $t(335)$ = 0.92, p = .360, d = 0.10, CI_d = -0.11 – 0.31. Thus, a youth's prior arrest history influenced whether participants found the victim's their version of events believable, but only when the youth was a female, not a male. There were no other effects on youth believability.

Table 4.6

Analysis of Variance Results for Vulnerability, Prior Arrest, Youth Sex, and Trafficker Sex for Youth Believability

Effect	*SS*	*MS*	*F*	*df*	*p*	ηp^2
Vulnerability	2.58	2.58	2.09	1	.149	.003
Prior Arrest	11.52	11.52	9.35	1	.002	.014
Youth Sex	3.22	3.22	2.62	1	.106	.004
Trafficker Sex	.31	.31	0.25	1	.616	.000
Prior Arrest * Vulnerability	.13	.13	0.11	1	.745	.000
Prior Arrest * Youth Sex	4.27	4.27	3.47	1	.063	.005
Prior Arrest * Trafficker Sex	.08	.08	0.06	1	.800	.000
Vulnerability * Youth Sex	2.23	2.23	1.81	1	.179	.003
Vulnerability * Trafficker Sex	.09	.09	0.08	1	.783	.000
Youth Sex * Trafficker Sex	2.27	2.27	1.84	1	.175	.003
Prior Arrest * Vulnerability * Youth Sex	.95	.95	0.77	1	.380	.001
Prior Arrest *Vulnerability * Trafficker Sex	1.45	1.45	1.18	1	.278	.002
Prior Arrest * Youth Sex * Trafficker Sex	.02	.02	0.02	1	.899	.000
Vulnerability * Youth Sex * Trafficker Sex	1.03	1.03	0.83	1	.361	.001
Prior Arrest * Vulnerability * Youth Sex * Trafficker Sex	.44	.44	0.36	1	.552	.001
Error	814.02	1.23		661		

Victim Responsibility. Table 4.7 displays main effects for vulnerability and prior arrest on the victim responsibility scale. Specifically, participants reported greater responsibility when the youth had a previous arrest for commercial sex acts (M = 2.60, SD = 1.48) as compared to a youth who had no previous arrest (M = 2.36, SD = 1.45), $t(675) = 2.20$, $p = .028$, $d = 0.17$, $CI_d = 0.02 – 0.32$. Additionally, participants reported greater responsibility when the youth came from a non-vulnerable background (M = 2.72,

SD = 1.50) as compared to a youth who came from a vulnerable background (*M* = 2.24, *SD* = 1.39), $t(675) = 4.26$, $p < .001$, $d = 0.33$, $CI_d = 0.18 – 0.48$. There were no other significant effects on victim responsibility.

Table 4.7

Analysis of Variance Results for Vulnerability, Prior Arrest, Youth Sex, and Trafficker Sex for Victim Responsibility Scale

Effect	*SS*	*MS*	*F*	*df*	*p*	ηp^2
Vulnerability	36.47	36.47	17.40	1	.000	.026
Prior Arrest	9.65	9.65	4.60	1	.032	.007
Youth Sex	7.34	7.34	3.50	1	.062	.005
Trafficker Sex	1.20	1.20	0.57	1	.451	.001
Prior Arrest * Vulnerability	.76	.76	0.36	1	.548	.001
Prior Arrest * Youth Sex	.88	.88	0.42	1	.518	.001
Prior Arrest * Trafficker Sex	.17	.17	0.08	1	.778	.000
Vulnerability * Youth Sex	1.82	1.82	0.87	1	.351	.001
Vulnerability * Trafficker Sex	.52	.52	0.25	1	.618	.000
Youth Sex * Trafficker Sex	.74	.74	0.35	1	.553	.001
Prior Arrest * Vulnerability * Youth Sex	.12	.12	0.06	1	.814	.000
Prior Arrest *Vulnerability * Trafficker Sex	.28	.28	0.14	1	.713	.000
Prior Arrest * Youth Sex * Trafficker Sex	6.31	6.31	3.01	1	.083	.005
Vulnerability * Youth Sex * Trafficker Sex	.32	.32	0.16	1	.694	.000
Prior Arrest * Vulnerability * Youth Sex * Trafficker Sex	.00	.00	0.00	1	.966	.000
Error	1385.44	2.10		661		

Moderated Mediation Models

Four Hayes PROCESS (2018) model 7 analyses tested the moderated mediation models using victim responsibility, believability, and moral emotions as potential mediators on the relationship between prior arrest history and trafficker sex on agreement and certainty for social services over legal consequences for both Chris (male survivor) and Sarah (female survivor).

Social Services over Legal Consequences Agreement. Table 4.8 displays the results of the Hayes Process (2018), Model 7 program testing the moderated mediation for all three potential mediators for the Sarah (female youth) condition. Table 4.8 shows a significant direct effect of prior arrest on believability and direct effects of believability, victim responsibility, and moral emotions on the agreement outcome. Additionally, evidence of mediation emerged for the believability mediator but not for negative moral emotions. Furthermore, the trafficker sex did not mediate the relationship. Thus, as displayed in Figure 4.2, when participants read about Sarah, they thought her version of events was more believable when she had no prior arrests than when she had a prior arrest, which in turn predicted greater agreement in recommending social services over legal consequences. Notably, the sex of the trafficker did not impact this model.

Table 4.8

Results of the Moderated Mediation Analysis for Participants' Social Services Agreement Ratings as a function of Prior Arrest and Trafficker Sex for Female Youth Condition Only

Predictor	*β*	*S.E.*	*t*(335)	*p*	95% CI *β*
Victim Responsibility					
Prior Arrest	.02	.23	.08	.934	-.43 – .47
Trafficker Sex	-.19	.23	-.81	.421	-.64 – .27
Prior Arrest x Trafficker Sex	.33	.33	1.01	.312	-.31 – .97

Moral Emotions					
Prior Arrest	.10	.17	.59	.555	-.24 – .45
Trafficker Sex	.02	.18	.09	.931	-.33 – .36
Prior Arrest x Trafficker Sex	.05	.25	.22	.828	-.44 – .54
Believability					
Prior Arrest	-.39	.18	-2.20	.028	-.74 – -.04
Trafficker Sex	.13	.18	.71	.478	-.22 – .48
Prior Arrest x Trafficker Sex	-.09	.25	-.35	.729	-.59 – .41
Social Services Over Legal Consequences Agreement					
Prior Arrest	.00	.17	.00	.996	-.34 – .34
Victim Responsibility	-.55	.07	-8.28	<.001	-.69 – -.42
Moral Emotions	-.54	.09	-6.28	<.001	-.71 – -.37
Believability	.45	.07	5.98	<.001	.30 – .59
Predictor	*β*	*S.E.*	*t*(335)	*p*	95% CI *β*
Agreement (Indirect Moderated Mediation Effects)*					
Victim Responsibility	-.18	.18	**	ns	-.56 – .17
Joan / Female	-.01	.12	**	ns	-.27 – .23
John / Male	-.19	.14	**	ns	-.47 – .06
Moral Emotions	-.03	.14	**	ns	-.32 – .23
Joan / Female	-.06	.09	**	ns	-.24 – .13
John / Male	-.09	.11	**	ns	-.31 – .11
Believability	-.04	.12	**	ns	-.30 – .17
Joan / Female	-.18	.08	**	<.05	-.35 – -.02
John / Male	-.22	.10	**	<.05	-.43 – -.04

*Standard Errors are estimated with bootstraps and confidence intervals replace *t*-test

Figure 4.2

Sarah Moderated Mediation Model with Believability on Agreement

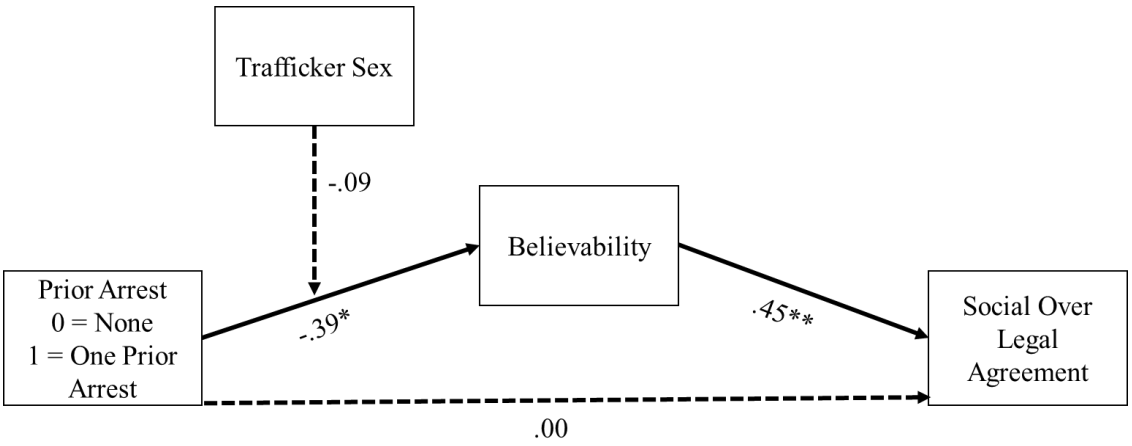


Table 4.9 displays the results of the Model 7 program examining the above model for the Chris (male youth) condition only. As Table 4.9 indicates, this time prior arrest showed direct effects on victim responsibility and moral emotions. Additionally, all three mediators once again directly influenced levels of agreement for recommending social services over legal consequences. Although there are no interactions, there was evidence of mediation when Chris (male victim) was trafficked by Joan (female trafficker condition). Specifically, as displayed in Figure 4.3, when participants read about Chris having a previous arrest and was trafficked by a female, they reported more negative moral emotions, which in turn predicted a lower likelihood of agreeing to recommend social services over legal consequences. Moral emotions did not mediate this relationship when Chris was trafficked by John (male trafficker condition).

Table 4.9

Results of the Moderated Mediation Analysis for Participants' Social Services Agreement Ratings as a function of Prior Arrest and Trafficker Sex for Male Youth Condition Only

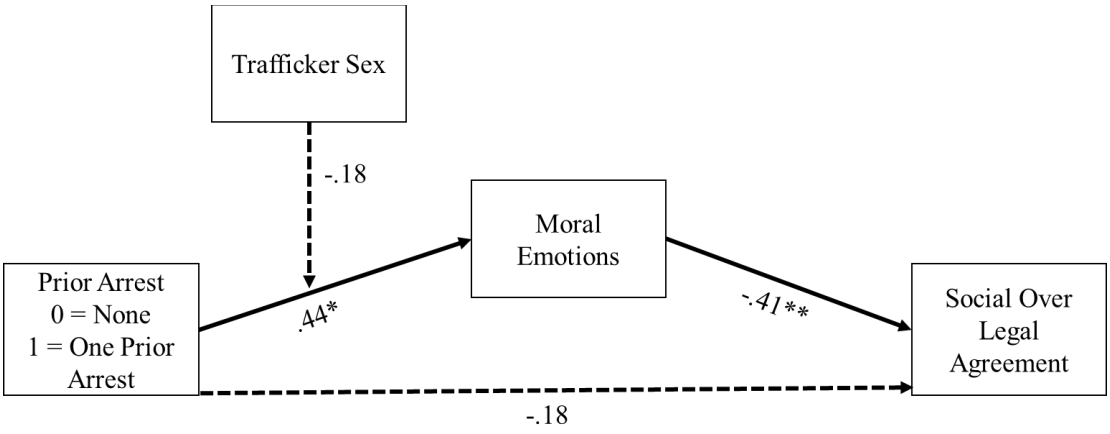
Predictor	*β*	*S.E.*	*t*(332)	*p*	95% CI *β*
Victim Responsibility					
Prior Arrest	.56	.22	2.56	.011	.13 – .99
Trafficker Sex	.09	.22	.40	.686	-.35 – .52

Prior Arrest x Trafficker Sex	-.48	.31	-1.57	.119	-1.09 – .12
Moral Emotions					
Prior Arrest	.44	.18	2.47	.014	.09 – .79
Trafficker Sex	-.09	.18	-.50	.618	-.44 – .26
Prior Arrest x Trafficker Sex	-.18	.25	-.71	.481	-.67 – .32
Believability					
Prior Arrest	-.09	.16	-.55	.581	-.40 – .23
Trafficker Sex	-.15	.16	-.90	.367	-.47 – .17
Prior Arrest x Trafficker Sex	-.01	.23	-.02	.982	-.45 – .44
Social Services Over Legal Consequences Agreement					
Prior Arrest	-.18	.18	-1.02	.311	-.53 – .18
Victim Responsibility	-.57	.07	-7.75	<.001	-.72 – -.43
Moral Emotions	-.41	.09	-4.57	<.001	-.59 – -.23
Believability	.40	.09	4.65	<.001	.23 – .57
Predictor	*β*	*S.E.*	*t*(1,125)	*p*	95% CI *β*
Agreement (Indirect Moderated Mediation Effects)*					
Victim Responsibility	.28	.18	**	ns	-.07 – .66
Joan / Female	-.32	.14	**	<.05	-.62 – -.06
John / Male	-.04	.12	**	ns	-.29 – .19
Moral Emotions	.07	.11	**	ns	-.13 – .31
Joan / Female	-.18	.09	**	<.05	-.38 – -.03
John / Male	-.11	.08	**	ns	-.27 – .03
Believability	-.00	.09	**	ns	-.17 – .20
Joan / Female	-.04	.06	**	ns	-.18 – .08
John / Male	-.04	.07	**	ns	-.18 – .11

*Standard Errors are estimated with bootstraps and confidence intervals replace *t*-test

Figure 4.3

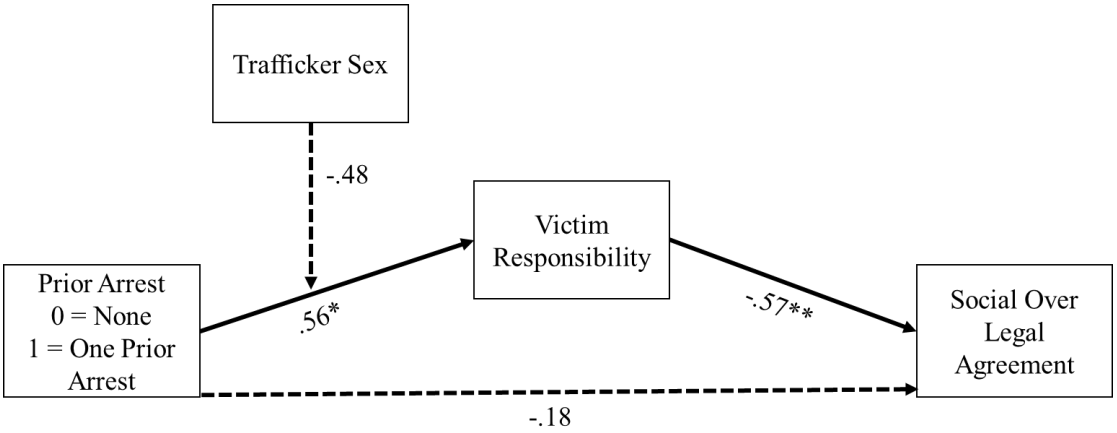
Chris Moderated Mediation Model with Moral Emotions on Agreement



Similarly, as displayed in Figure 4.4, when participants read about Chris having a previous arrest and he was trafficked by Joan, they reported greater ratings of victim responsibility, which in turn predicted a lower likelihood to recommend social services over legal consequences. Victim responsibility did not mediate the relationship when Chris is trafficked by a male trafficker.

Figure 4.4

Chris Moderated Mediation Model with Victim Responsibility on Agreement



Social Services over Legal Consequences Certainty. Table 4.10 displays the results of the Model 7 program examining the above moderated mediation models for

Sarah on participants' certainty ratings for recommending social services over legal consequences. The only direct effects include prior arrest on perceptions of believability and all three mediators on perceptions of certainty in recommendation. Similar to the agreement model, there was evidence of mediation for the believability mediator, regardless of trafficker sex. As displayed in Figure 4.5, when participants read that Sarah who had no prior arrest, they perceived her version of events as more believable, which in turn predicted greater certainty for social services of legal consequences. Once again, trafficker sex did not influence the mediation model.

Table 4.10

Results of the Moderated Mediation Analysis for Participants' Social Services Certainty Ratings as a function of Prior Arrest and Trafficker Sex for Female Youth Condition Only

Predictor	*β*	*S.E.*	*t*(334)	*p*	95% CI *β*
Victim Responsibility					
Prior Arrest	-.01	.23	-.04	.969	-.46 – .44
Trafficker Sex	-.17	.23	-.76	.446	-.62 – .27
Prior Arrest x Trafficker Sex	.37	.33	1.13	.258	-.27 – 1.01
Moral Emotions					
Prior Arrest	.09	.18	.51	.608	-.25 – .43
Trafficker Sex	.02	.17	.13	.894	-.32 – .37
Prior Arrest x Trafficker Sex	.04	.25	.17	.866	-.45 – .53
Believability					
Prior Arrest	-.40	.18	-2.21	.028	-.75 – -.04
Trafficker Sex	.10	.18	.57	.571	-.25 – .45
Prior Arrest x Trafficker Sex	-.08	.26	-.29	.769	-.58 – .43
Social Services Over Legal Consequences Certainty					
Prior Arrest	-.16	.34	-.47	.642	-.84 – .52

Victim Responsibility	-.82	.13	-6.16	<.001	-1.08 – -.56
Moral Emotions	-1.19	.17	-6.93	<.001	-1.53 – -.85
Believability	.70	.15	4.73	<.001	.41 – .99
Predictor	*β*	*S.E.*	*t*(1,125)	*p*	95% CI *β*
Certainty (Indirect Moderated Mediation Effects)*					
Victim Responsibility	-.30	.28	**	ns	-.87 – .21
Joan / Female	.01	.18	**	ns	-.36 – .37
John / Male	-.30	.21	**	ns	-.73 – .08
Moral Emotions	-.05	.30	**	ns	-.65 – .55
Joan / Female	-.11	.20	**	ns	-.52 – .28
John / Male	-.16	.23	**	ns	-.62 – .27
Believability	-.05	.18	**	ns	-.45 – .29
Joan / Female	-.28	.13	**	<.05	-.54 – -.04
John / Male	-.33	.15	**	<.05	-.66 – -.07

*Standard Errors are estimated with bootstraps and confidence intervals replace *t*-test

Figure 4.5

Sarah Moderated Mediation Model with Believability on Certainty

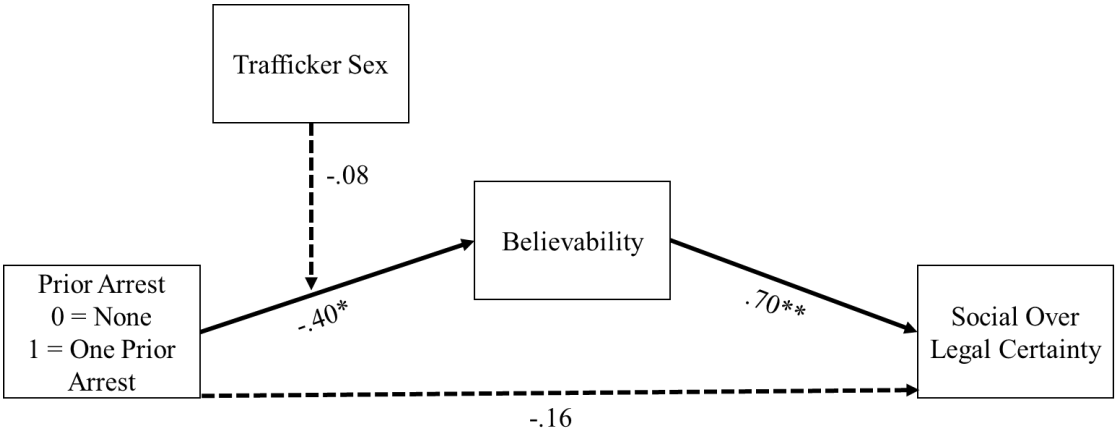


Table 4.11 displays the results of the moderated mediation model for Chris on certainty ratings. As displayed, there were direct effects of prior arrest on victim responsibility and moral emotions, and direct effects for all three mediators on certainty

ratings. Once again, there was evidence of mediation for moral emotions and the victim responsibility scale. As displayed in Figure 4.6, when participants read that Chris who had one previous arrest, they reported more negative moral emotions, which in turn predicted lower certainty ratings for recommending social services over legal consequences. However, this was only true for the female trafficker condition; this model is not significant in the male trafficker condition.

Table 4.11

Results of the Moderated Mediation Analysis for Participants' Social Services Certainty Ratings as a function of Prior Arrest and Trafficker Sex for Male Youth Condition Only

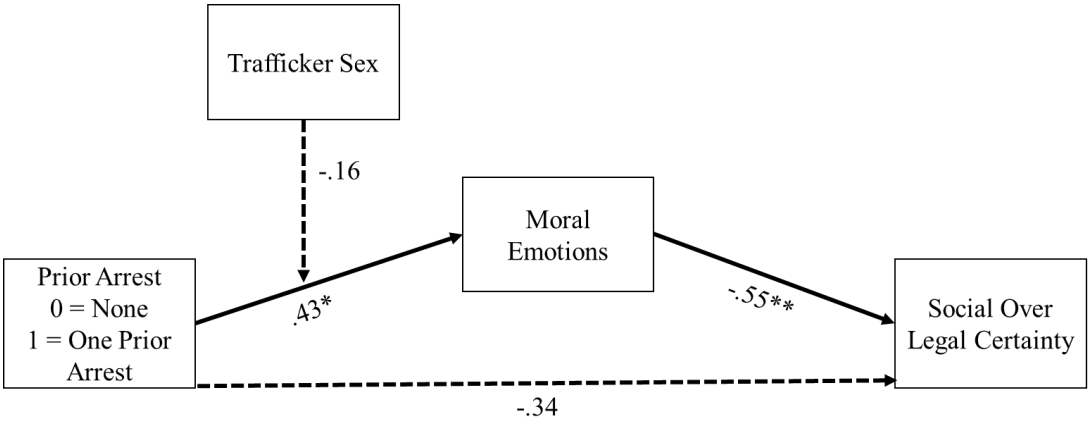
Predictor	*β*	*S.E.*	*t*(334)	*p*	95% CI *β*
Victim Responsibility					
Prior Arrest	.54	.22	2.46	.014	.11 – .98
Trafficker Sex	.08	.22	.37	.708	-.35 – .52
Prior Arrest x Trafficker Sex	-.45	.31	-1.44	.151	-1.06 – .16
Moral Emotions					
Prior Arrest	.43	.18	2.40	.017	.08 – .79
Trafficker Sex	-.09	.18	-.49	.624	-.44 – .27
Prior Arrest x Trafficker Sex	-.16	.25	-.64	.522	-.66 – .34
Believability					
Prior Arrest	-.08	.16	-.48	.631	-.40 – .24
Trafficker Sex	-.15	.16	-.91	.363	-.47 – .17
Prior Arrest x Trafficker Sex	-.04	.23	-.17	.867	-.49 – .41
Social Services Over Legal Consequences Certainty					
Prior Arrest	-.34	.33	-1.03	.304	-1.00 – .31
Victim Responsibility	-1.17	.14	-8.40	<.001	-1.45 – -.90
Moral Emotions	-.55	.17	-3.23	.001	-.88 – -.21

Believability	.43	.16	2.65	.009	.11 – .75
Predictor	*β*	*S.E.*	*t*(1,125)	*p*	95% CI *β*
Certainty (Indirect Moderated Mediation Effects)*					
Victim Responsibility	.52	.38	**	ns	-.19 – 1.29
Joan / Female	-.64	.28	**	<.05	-1.21 – -.10
John / Male	-.11	.24	**	ns	-.59 – .38
Moral Emotions	.09	.15	**	ns	-.19 – .41
Joan / Female	-.24	.13	**	<.05	-.53 – -.03
John / Male	-.15	.11	**	ns	-.39 – .04
Believability	-.02	.10	**	ns	-.21 – .22
Joan / Female	-.03	.07	**	ns	-.21 – .09
John / Male	-.05	.08	**	ns	-.22 – .11

*Standard Errors are estimated with bootstraps and confidence intervals replace *t*-test

Figure 4.6

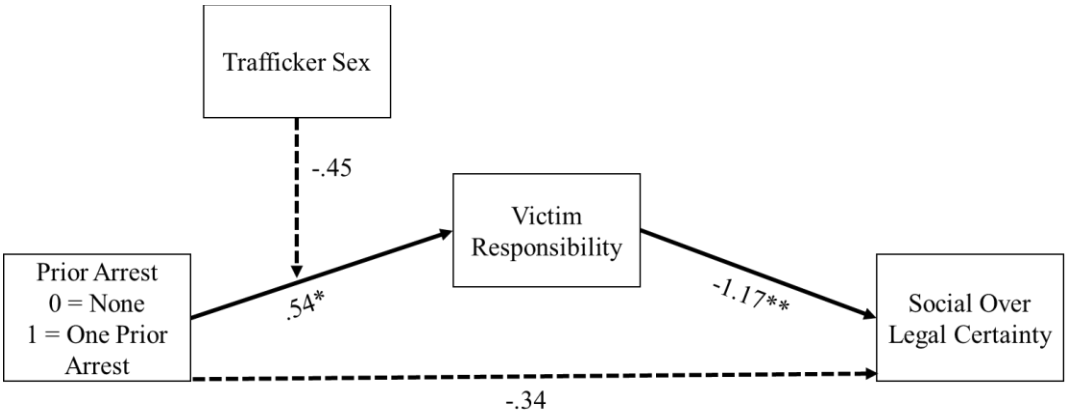
Chris Moderated Mediation Model with Moral Emotions on Agreement



Similarly, as displayed in Figure 4.7, when participants read that Chris who had a previous arrest, they reported greater victim responsibility, which in turn predicted lower certainty ratings for recommending social services over legal consequences. Once again, this was only true in the female trafficker condition, not the male trafficker condition.

Figure 4.7

Chris Moderated Mediation Model with Victim Responsibility on Agreement



In summary, participants were more likely to agree and report higher certainty ratings for recommending social services over legal consequences for Sarah when she had no prior arrest history, as this results in greater perceptions of believability. Interestingly, the sex of the trafficker did not influence this model (i.e., the model stands whether Sarah is trafficked by a male or female). For Chris, participants were more likely to agree and report higher certainty ratings when he had no prior arrest history, but this is due to lower negative moral emotions and victim responsibility ratings. Additionally, this was only true when Chris was trafficked by Joan (female trafficker condition). Thus, moral emotions appeared to influence case outcome decisions, but only for the male and not the female victim.

4.4 Discussion

Experiment 1 illustrates the potential difference in responses people feel towards CSTVs depending on their sex, prior arrest history, and the sex of the person who trafficked them. First, participants were more likely to recommend and be certain in their recommendations of social services over legal consequences when the youth had no prior

arrest for commercial sex acts. Additionally, participants were more likely to agree to recommend social services over legal consequences for the boy, Chris, as compared to the girl, Sarah. However, these effects were qualified by a three-way interaction, such that participants were more likely and more certain to recommend social services over legal consequences for Chris when he had no previous arrest for commercial sex acts and he was trafficked by a female. For Sarah, there were no differences in judgment based on her prior arrest history or the sex of her trafficker. Although, the main effect suggests participants are less likely to recommend social services over legal consequences for girls as compared to boys.

There were main effects for all individual difference variables (i.e., participant gender, human trafficking myth acceptance, and ATGLS) on likelihood and certainty to recommend social services over legal consequences, but only ATGLS interacted with a manipulated variable serving as a moderator to influence case outcomes. Overall, women were more likely and certain to recommend social services over legal consequences, and individuals who strongly endorsed human trafficking myths were less likely and certain to recommend social services over legal consequences. These findings are in line with previous research that demonstrated men and individuals with high endorsement of human trafficking myths were less likely to believe the victim and more likely to blame the victim in the CST vignette (Cunningham & Cromer, 2016). Attitudes towards gays and lesbians also influenced the likelihood and certainty to recommend social services over legal consequences, but this main effect was qualified by a two-way interaction between ATGLS and trafficker sex. Specifically, participants were more likely and certain to recommend social services over legal consequences when the youth was

trafficked by a female as compared to a male, but only for those with strong negative ATGLS. Thus, individuals do not seem to differentiate between the male and female trafficker unless they hold strong negative ATGLS. It is difficult to explain this unpredicted and likely spurious association. More generally people who hold anti LGBQ attitudes show lower likelihood and certainty to recommend social services over legal consequences.

Participants were more likely to report negative moral emotions towards a youth who had a previous arrest for commercial sex acts as compared to youth who did not, but this effect was independent of the youth's vulnerability background. Thus, there was no support for the hypothesized interaction between prior arrest history and the youth's vulnerability background, as Wiener and colleagues (in press) previously demonstrated. The difference between these studies could be the age of the victim; it is possible people feel a youth is more vulnerable regardless of their specific background as compared to an adult. Additionally, Bouche and colleagues (2018) found that participants showed greater concern and were more likely to recommend increased punishment for traffickers when they read about a minor sex trafficking victim as compared to an adult. Future research should explore differences in perceptions of vulnerability depending on a trafficking survivor's age, as previous research has shown this factor can greatly influence case outcome decisions.

Although the results did not support the hypothesized interaction between prior arrest history and vulnerability, path analysis supported a moderated mediation model testing the interaction between youth sex, trafficker sex, and prior arrest history on likelihood and certainty to recommend social services over legal consequences for three

potential mediators: moral emotions, believability, and victim responsibility. Interestingly, two different patterns emerge depending on the youth's sex. First, for the male, perceptions of victim responsibility and moral emotions significantly mediated the relationship between prior arrest history and case outcome decisions, but only when he was trafficked by a female. Specifically, when Chris had a prior arrest for commercial sex acts, participants felt more negative moral emotions and reported greater victim responsibility, which in turn predicted a lower likelihood and certainty of receiving social services over legal consequences. However, this pattern only emerged when Chris' trafficker was a woman.

A different pattern emerged for Sarah. Specifically, when Sarah had a prior arrest for commercial sex acts, participants found her story to be less believable, which in turn predicted a lower likelihood and certainty to receive social services over legal consequences. Additionally, this pattern emerged regardless of the sex of Sarah's trafficker. Moral emotions and victim responsibility did not mediate the relationship between prior arrest history and case outcome decisions for Sarah. Thus, while moral emotions appear to be the key for understanding how people respond to male CSTVs, believability seems to play that role for female CSTVs.

Thus, for youth sex, it does appear participants are more punitive towards girls as compared to boys, supporting the claims of scholars who suggest people hold females to higher sexual standards even regarding sex trafficking (Annitto, 2011; Menaker & Franklin, 2015). Apparently, it is easier to blame the girl victim than the boy victim. The limitations and future directions of Study 1 are discussed in the general discussion section (Chapter 6).

CHAPTER 5: EXPERIMENT 2

The purpose of Experiment 2 was to determine if emotion regulation strategies could offset the emotion effects found in Experiment 1, which others have found repeatedly in the judgment and decision-making literature (See Wiener et al., in press). Experiment 2 was similar to Experiment 1, except all participants only judged the male trafficker/female victim vignette but with the same manipulations for prior arrest history and vulnerability. Thus, Experiment 2 did not manipulate youth sex or trafficker sex. Experiment 2 also manipulated participants engagement with emotion regulation (ER). Specifically, participants worked under one of four emotion regulation directives: cognitive reappraisal with an instruction to lower their emotional reactions, suppression with an instruction to lower their emotional reactions, instructions to lower their emotional reactions with no specified strategy (i.e., no suppression or cognitive reappraisal instructions) or with no emotion regulation / control instructions.

5.1 Hypotheses

Experiment 2 included the same main effect hypotheses as in Experiment 1 for prior arrest history and youth vulnerability background. Additionally, the emotion regulation hypothesis predicted a main effect for emotion regulation, such that participants in the cognitive reappraisal and lower emotion instruction condition would be more likely to recommend social services as compared to participants in the other ER conditions. Most importantly, the central hypothesis for Experiment 2 was that moral emotions would no longer mediate the relationship between youth characteristics (e.g., past vulnerability and previous sexual activity) and punitive case judgments for participants who cognitively reappraised their emotions with the instruction to lower their

emotional reactions but the indirect effect of the case facts through these emotional mediators will remain in the other conditions. Thus, participants who were in the suppression with instruction to lower emotional reactions, instructions to lower emotional reaction with no strategy, or control conditions would demonstrate the same pattern of results in Experiment 1.

To summarize, the specific hypotheses were:

1. a main effect for vulnerability, such that participants would be more likely to recommend legal consequences over social services for youth who come from a non-vulnerable background as compared to youth who come from a vulnerable background.

2. a main effect for prior arrest history, such that participants would be more likely to recommend legal consequences over social services for youth who had a prior arrest for commercial sex acts as compared to youth who had no prior arrest for commercial sex acts.

3. a main effect for emotion regulation, such that participants who cognitively reappraise with the instruction to lower the negative moral emotions would be more likely to recommend social services over legal consequences as compared to participants in all other conditions.

4. an interaction between vulnerability and prior arrest history, such that participants would be more likely to recommend legal consequences over social services for youth who come from a non-vulnerable background and had no prior arrest for commercial sex acts (Wiener et al., in press).

5. a moderated mediation model (See Figure 4.1), such that participants would report greater anger, disgust, and contempt towards a youth who came from a non-vulnerable background and had no prior arrest for commercial sex acts, which in turn would predict a greater willingness to offer legal consequences over social services, but only for participants who do not cognitively reappraise their emotions. In other words, participants in the suppression, no strategy, and control condition should follow the path in Figure 4.1, but for participants who cognitively reappraise, this path would no longer be significant.

5.2 Methods

Participants and Recruitment

The study conformed to a 2 (youth vulnerability background: vulnerable vs. non vulnerable) x 2 (youth prior arrest: second prostitution arrest vs. no previous arrest) x 4 (emotion regulation: control vs. cognitive reappraisal vs. suppression vs. no strategy) between subjects design. Participants were workers recruited from Amazon's Mechanical Turk, an online participant workforce. Of the 752 respondents, 36 took too little time (less than 5 minutes) and 29 took too long (more than 42 minutes) to provide accurate and undistracted answers. Six-hundred and thirty-three participants (92.1%) did not fail any attention checks, and only 39 participants (5.7%) missed one attention check. Fifteen participants failed more than one attention check (2.2%). After removing these respondents, the final sample consisted of 672 participants. All data reduction decisions occurred before any of the other analyses. A power analysis revealed 95% power to detect an effect with a partial eta square of .025 at the .05 level. The cells in the study range from 36 to 50 with the average cell size being 44.8.

The average age of the participants was 37.08 (*SD* = 12.52). Three-hundred and ninety-three participants were assigned female at birth (58.9%) and 274 (41.1%) were assigned male. Three-hundred and eighty-eight participants identified as a woman (58.2%), 267 as a man (40.0%), 1 as trans woman (0.1%), 2 as trans man (0.3%), 3 as gender queer or gender non-conforming (0.4%), and 2 as non-binary (0.3%). Five-hundred and fourteen (76.9%) participants identified as heterosexual, 102 (15.3%) as bisexual, 13 as Lesbian (1.9%), and 15 as gay (2.2%). Four-hundred and seventy-nine participants (71.7%) identified as White, 80 (12%) as Black, 51 (7.6%) as Asian American or Pacific Islander, 33 (4.9%) as Latinx or Hispanic, 11 (1.6%) as Native American, and 9 (1.3%) indicated Other. The participant sample was generally well educated, with 97 (14.5%) finishing graduate or professional school, 50 (7.5%) attending some graduate school, 270 (40.4%) graduating college, 171 (25.6%) attending some college, 74 (11.1%) finishing high school, and only 6 (0.9%) reporting they had not finished high school. Two-hundred and ninety-seven participants (44.4%) identified as Democrats, 187 (28%) as Republicans, and 156 (23.3%) indicated no political affiliation. Participants completed the questionnaire through Qualtrics, an online survey platform. Participants earned $0.50 for their participation.

Design and Procedure

As in Study 1, after providing informed consent, half of participants completed the human trafficking myths scale (Cunningham & Cromer, 2016), the goal-focused (GFERQ) and strategy-focused (SFERQ) emotion regulation questionnaires (Tamir et al., 2019), and the demographics. Next the Qualtrics program randomly assigned participants to read one of 4 case vignettes identical to the “Sarah” and “John” scenario from Study 1.

After that, participants answered manipulation check questions, indicated the extent to which they felt anger, disgust, and contempt towards the youth in the vignette, and then completed the emotion regulation task that served as the third experimental manipulation. Following the ER task, participants completed the emotion measures for a second time and answered questions regarding their perceptions of the case. Half of participants completed the human trafficking myths scale, the emotion regulation questionnaires, and the demographics at the end of the survey. Lastly, participants read a debriefing statement and received their payment. Appendix B lists the manipulation checks, the PANAS scale, the outcome measures, the Human Trafficking Myths Scale, and the emotion regulation surveys (i.e., the GFERQ and SFERQ).

Materials and Measures

Case Vignettes. The vignettes were identical to the female victim version of Study 1. All participants read a scenario in which the police picked up a 16-year-old girl ("Sarah") for commercial sex acts. The design varied whether Sarah came from a stable home environment (i.e., non-vulnerable condition) or an abusive home environment (i.e., vulnerable condition), when she met "John" for whom she began performing commercial sex acts. Additionally, the design manipulated Sarah's previous history of engaging in commercial sex acts by indicating whether this was the first time the police had picked up Sarah (i.e., no prior arrest condition) or the second time the police had picked up Sarah (i.e., prior arrest condition) for engaging in commercial sex acts. The Qualtrics program randomly assigned participants to one of four cells in this completely crossed design. Appendix A provides the full vignettes for the 4 experimental conditions.

Emotion Regulation Manipulation. The Qualtrics program assigned the participants to respond to one of four emotion regulation conditions: cognitive reappraisal instructions to lower emotional reactions, suppression instructions to lower emotional reactions, instructions to lower emotional reactions without a means, or no instructions (i.e., control condition). The cognitive reappraisal instructions informed participants to re-think the sex trafficking scenario from the perspective of a neutral third-party who evaluates the situation from a fair and unbiased perspective to decrease their emotional reactions after reading the scenario (Ray et al., 2010). The instructions in the suppression condition told participants to control their emotional response to the sex trafficking scenario by keeping their face as neutral as possible and by ignoring their emotions while they finished the experiment, again to decrease their emotional reactions to the scenario (Heilman et al., 2010). The instructions in the lower emotional reactions without a prescribed means instructed participants to decrease their emotional reactions to the scenario in any way that they chose. Participants in the control condition received an instruction to write about what they thought of the case, with no reference to emotions or decreasing emotion reactions. These instructions conceptually followed the procedures that Tamir et al. (2019) employed to separate out the effects of goal focused and strategy focused emotion regulation effects using the same approach as Ray et al. (2010).

Manipulation Checks. Participants answered two questions to measure the success of the manipulations. First, participants responded to the question, "*Before the trafficking occurred, had Sarah ever sold herself for sex?*" to which they may have answered with yes, no, or unknown. Second, participants answered on a 1 (*Not at all vulnerable)* to 7 (*Very vulnerable*) scale, *"How vulnerable you believe Sarah was at*

home growing up before the trafficking occurred?" Lastly, the difference between participants' second emotion ratings from their first served as a manipulation check to indicate the extent to which they decreased their overall negative moral emotions in each emotion regulation condition.

Moral Emotions. Identical to Experiment 1, after reading the vignette, participants completed a modified Positive and Negative Affect Scale (PANAS; Watson & Clark, 1994) measuring their experienced anger, disgust, and contempt towards Sarah at Time 1, before they engaged in the emotion regulation manipulation, and at Time 2 after completing the ER task. All three emotion scales (i.e., anger, disgust, and contempt) were highly reliable and correlated with each other at Time 1 (α's > 0.95, r's > .92) and Time 2 (α's > 0.96, r's > .94) and the 30 items loaded onto one factor in an exploratory factor analysis at Time 1 and Time 2. Thus, as in Study 1, the results that followed utilized a combined negative moral emotions scale at Time 1 (*Range*: 1-4.97, α = 0.99, M = 2.07, SD = 1.13) and Time 2 (*Range*: 1-5, α = 0.99, M = 1.89, SD = 1.11) with higher scores indicating more negative moral emotions (i.e., anger, disgust, and contempt). Additionally, an emotion reduction variable subtracted participants total negative moral emotions at Time 2 from their total negative moral emotions at Time 1. Thus, this new variable (Emotion Reduction) indicated the extent to which participants decreased their negative emotions from Time 1 to Time 2 (*Range*: -1.50-3.97, M = 0.18, SD = 0.52, skewness = 2.81, kurtosis = 13.63) with higher scores on this variable indicated a greater decrease in negative moral emotions from Time 1 to Time 2. Notably, this variable was non-normal (kurtosis = 13.63), but subsequent transformations failed to reduce the

kurtosis value. Therefore, the tests that involve this variable report both parametric and non-parametric inferential statistics.

Outcome Measures. Participants completed the same outcome measures from Experiment 1, including their agreement and certainty that Sarah should receive (a)"legal interventions" (e.g., diversion, secure detention, formal arrest), (b)"social services interventions" (e.g., counseling services, emergency shelter, forensic medical exam, STD testing, basic services, and psychoeducation) (Menaker & Franklin, 2015), and (c) no interventions (e.g., the police let Sarah leave without making arrangements for any victim services). Participants also indicated the extent to which Sarah was "blameful for the situation", "responsible for the situation", and "the cause of the situation" (Menaker & Franklin, 2015). As in Experiment 1, these three items formed a reliable victim responsibility scale (*Range*: 1-6, $\alpha = 0.94$, $M = 2.63$, $SD = 1.48$) with higher scores indicating more victim responsibility. Lastly, participants indicated how credible they perceived Sarah to be by indicating the extent to which her version of events was believable. Appendix B contains all outcome measures.

Goal-Focused and Strategy-Focused Emotion Regulation Questionnaires. Participants completed the Goal-Focused (GFERQ) and Strategy-Focused (SFERQ) emotion regulation questionnaires (Tamir et al., 2019) measured on a likert scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*). The GFERQ contains 7 questions, including: "*When I want to change my feelings, I typically try to feel more positive emotions (such as joy or amusement).*" and "*When I'm faced with a stressful situation, I typically try to stay calm."* Higher scores indicate greater reliance on goal-focused (i.e., outcome focused) emotion regulation techniques which past research has demonstrated as

reliable (*alpha* = .77) (Tamir et al., 2019). The SFERQ contains 6 questions, including: "*When I want to influence my feelings, I change what I'm thinking about*" and *"When I'm too stressed or too calm, I make myself think about the situation in a way that helps me feel differently."* Past research also indicated this scale as reliable (α = 0.88) with higher scores indicating a greater reliance on cognitive reappraisal strategies to reduce negative emotions. In the current sample, the GFERQ (*Range*: 3.14-7, α = 0.71, *M* = 5.29, *SD* = 0.87) and SFERQ (*Range*: 1.50-7, α = 0.85, *M* = 5.36, *SD* = 0.87) were adequately reliable.

Human Trafficking Myths Scale. Participants completed the same human trafficking myths scale (Cunningham & Cromer, 2016) as in Experiment 1. As in Experiment 1, the scale was reliable (*Range*: 1-5.71, *α* = .94, *M* = 2.62, *SD* = 1.10).

Demographics. Participants answered the same basic demographic questions as in Experiment 1, assessing race, sex, gender identity, sexual orientation, age, and political orientation among other questions (See Appendix B).

5.3 Results

Overview

The organization of the results is similar to Experiment 1. The section begins with an analysis of the manipulation checks for the experimental factors. Next, the main analyses focus on two outcome measures which indicate the extent to which participants prefer recommending social services over legal consequences for Sarah (*Range*: -2 to 5, *M* = 2.21, *SD* = 2.11, skewness = -0.10, kurtosis = -1.29) and how certain they were in their recommendations (*Range*: -5 - 9, *M* = 4.21, *SD* = 3.80, skewness = -0.11, kurtosis = -1.41). (Note: As in study 1, analyses of the no interventions measure produced no

significant effects. The results section below does not report on these analyses, but Appendix C present the statistical tables showing the no result effects.) The results section continues with a series of MANOVA models that treat both the agreement and certainty indices as outcome measures and tested the moderation effects of participant gender, human trafficking myth acceptance, and emotion regulation questionnaires. Next, are a series of ANOVA models that tested three potential mediators: decrease in moral emotions, victim responsibility, and victim believability. Finally, a series of Hayes (2018) PROCESS 3.2 programs tested the evidence for the hypothesized moderated mediation.

Manipulation Checks

Prior Arrest. 78.09% of participants correctly answered the prior arrest manipulation check in the no prior arrest / first arrest condition, and 82.39% of participants correctly answered in the second arrest condition. Overall, 80.16% of participants accurately remembered the youths prior arrest history.

Vulnerability. An independent sample *t*-test measured the extent to which participants perceived the youth as vulnerable prior to her experiences with the trafficker in the vignette. As expected, participants in the vulnerable condition (M = 6.06, SD = 1.14) rated the youth as significantly more vulnerable as compared to participants in the non-vulnerable condition (M = 4.15, SD = 1.88), $t(667) = -15.89$, $p < .001$, $d = 1.23$, CI_d = 1.06-1.39.

Emotion Regulation. As described above, the emotion reduction variable captured the extent to which participants decreased their total negative moral emotions from Time 1 to Time 2. Due to the non-normality of the variable, non-parametric tests explored the effect of the emotion regulation manipulation on decrease in negative moral

emotions. Overall, the ominous test indicated a difference in emotion reduction based on the conditions (Kruskal-Wallis (3) = 15.94, p =.001). Follow-up Mann-Whitney U tests revealed participants in the suppression condition decreased their negative moral emotions more than participants in the control condition (Suppression Mean rank = 185.61, Control Mean rank = 144.01; z = -3.99, p < .001), no strategy condition (Suppression Mean rank = 175.94, No Strategy Mean rank = 152.78; z = -2.22, p = .026), and cognitive reappraisal condition (Suppression Mean rank = 180.65, Cognitive Reappraisal Mean rank = 153.43; z = -2.59, p = .01). Neither of the other conditions significantly differed from the control condition (z's < -1.58, p's > .116). Notably, parametric paired sample *t*-tests indicate that, in each emotion regulation condition, participants significantly reduced their negative moral emotions (see Table 5.1). Agreeing with the non-parametric findings, the suppression condition displayed the highest d-value for the emotion reduction measure.

Table 5.12

Paired Sample t-test for Total Moral Emotions at Time 1 and Time 2 for each Emotion Regulation Condition

Condition	*Time 1 M*	*Time 2 M*	*t*	*df*	*p*	*d*	CI_D
Control	1.93 (1.05)	1.82 (1.05)	3.45	162	.001	.27	.11 - .43
No Strategy	2.03 (1.09)	1.87 (1.09)	4.33	161	.000	.34	.18 - .50
Suppression	2.07 (1.14)	1.79 (1.09)	5.71	165	.000	.44	.28 - .60
Cognitive Reappraisal	2.23 (1.22)	2.07 (1.20)	3.67	166	.000	.28	.13 - .44

In summary, the manipulation checks show moderate success in manipulating prior arrest history and vulnerability. Additionally, it appears that participants in the suppression condition were more successful in reducing their negative moral emotions

towards Sarah as compared to participants in the control, cognitive reappraisal, and no strategy conditions. As in Study 1, the analyses to follow did not drop participants based on incorrect responses on the manipulation checks because doing so would have compromised the random assignment and threaten the internal validity of the design. All decisions about the final sample were made before any of the following analyses were conducted.

MANOVA

A 2 (youth vulnerability background: vulnerable vs. non vulnerable) x 2 (youth prior arrest: second prostitution arrest vs. no previous arrest) x 4 (emotion regulation condition: control vs. no strategy vs. suppression vs. cognitive reappraisal) MANOVA explored the effects of the independent variables on the extent to which participants agreed the youth should receive social services over legal consequences and how certain they were that the youth should receive social services over legal consequences. There were no multivariate effects. ANOVA analyses using a series of 2 (youth vulnerability background: vulnerable vs. non vulnerable) x 2 (youth prior arrest: second prostitution arrest vs. no previous arrest) x 4 (emotion regulation condition: control vs. no strategy vs. suppression vs. cognitive reappraisal) between-subjects models also failed to show any significant effects of the manipulated factors on either the agreement or certainty indices of valuing social services over legal consequences (See Table 5.2).

Table 5.13

Analysis of Variance Results for Vulnerability, Prior Arrest, and Emotion Regulation on Agreement and Certainty Indices

Effect	*MS(error)*	*F*	*df*	*p*	ηp^2
Social Services Over Legal Consequences Agreement					
Vulnerability	0.27	0.06	1, 640	.801	.000
Prior Arrest	8.40	1.86	1, 640	.173	.003
Emotion Regulation (ER)	6.94	1.54	3, 640	.203	.007
Vulnerability * Prior Arrest	0.02	0.00	1, 640	.953	.000
Vulnerability * Emotion Regulation	2.26	0.50	3, 640	.681	.002
Prior Arrest * Emotion Regulation	2.08	0.46	3, 640	.710	.002
Vulnerability * Prior Arrest * ER	0.19	0.04	3, 640	.989	.000
Social Services Over Legal Consequences Certainty					
Vulnerability	8.24	0.56	1, 640	.455	.001
Prior Arrest	1.85	0.13	1, 640	.722	.000
Emotion Regulation (ER)	21.69	1.49	3, 640	.216	.007
Vulnerability * Prior Arrest	10.24	0.70	1, 640	.402	.001
Vulnerability * Emotion Regulation	4.37	0.30	3, 640	.826	.001
Prior Arrest * Emotion Regulation	4.56	0.32	3, 640	.814	.001
Vulnerability * Prior Arrest * ER	3.89	0.27	3, 640	.849	.001

Moderation Analyses. The following models explored moderation effects with participant gender, emotion regulation questionnaires (i.e., GFERQ and SFERQ) and human trafficking myth acceptance serving as moderators in the analysis of independent variable effects on the agreement and certainty outcomes. As in Study 1, participant gender was recoded so that there were two levels of gender: woman (1) and man (2).

Gender. There were multivariate main effects for participant gender, $\lambda = 0.94$, *Mult.* $F(2, 620) = 19.36$, $p < .001$, $\eta p^2 = .059$, and vulnerability, $\lambda = 0.99$, *Mult.* $F(2, 620) = 3.362$, $p = .027$, $\eta p^2 = .012$). There was also a significant interaction between vulnerability and participant gender, $\lambda = 0.99$, *Mult.* $F(2, 620) = 3.28$, $p = .038$, $\eta p^2 = .010$).

Table 5.3 displays the univariate effects for social services over legal consequences agreement and social services over legal consequences certainty as a follow-up to the moderation MANOVA. There was a main effect for participant gender on agreement for social services over legal consequences. Specifically, women ($M = 2.58$, $SD = 2.01$) were more likely to recommend social services over legal consequences as compared to men ($M = 1.63$, $SD = 2.11$), $t(644) = 5.76$, $p < .001$, $d = 0.46$, $CI_d = 0.30 – 0.62$. There were no other effects for the agreement outcome variable.

Table 5.14

Analysis of Variance with Participant Gender as a Moderator and with Vulnerability, Prior Arrest, and Emotion Regulation as Manipulated Factors on Agreement and Certainty Indices

Effect	*MS(error)*	*F*	*df*	*p*	ηp^2
Social Services Over Legal Consequences Agreement					
Participant Gender	147.85	34.60	1, 621	.000	.053
Vulnerability	0.08	0.02	1, 621	.891	.000
Prior Arrest	1.02	0.24	1, 621	.626	.000
Emotion Regulation (ER)	1.76	0.41	3, 621	.745	.002
Participant Gender * Vulnerability	0.46	0.11	1, 621	.744	.000
Participant Gender * Prior Arrest	3.63	0.85	1, 621	.357	.001
Participant Gender * ER	0.50	0.12	3, 621	.950	.001
Vulnerability * Prior Arrest	0.67	0.16	1, 621	.693	.000
Vulnerability * Emotion Regulation	2.67	0.62	3, 621	.600	.003
Prior Arrest * Emotion Regulation	2.06	0.48	3, 621	.694	.002

Vulnerability * Prior Arrest * ER	0.20	0.05	3, 621	.987	.000
Social Services Over Legal Consequences Certainty					
Participant Gender	464.65	33.76	1, 621	.000	.052
Vulnerability	36.70	2.67	1, 621	.103	.004
Prior Arrest	40.00	2.91	1, 621	.089	.005
Emotion Regulation (ER)	9.79	0.71	3, 621	.545	.003
Participant Gender * Vulnerability	26.68	1.94	1, 621	.164	.003
Participant Gender * Prior Arrest	45.90	3.33	1, 621	.068	.005
Participant Gender * ER	7.10	0.52	3, 621	.672	.002
Vulnerability * Prior Arrest	3.63	0.26	1, 621	.608	.000
Vulnerability * Emotion Regulation	6.14	0.45	3, 621	.720	.002
Prior Arrest * Emotion Regulation	3.43	0.25	3, 621	.862	.001
Vulnerability * Prior Arrest * ER	3.15	0.23	3, 621	.876	.001

For the certainty variable, there was a main effect for participant gender, such that women (M = 4.87, SD = 3.68) were more certain in their recommendations of social services over legal consequences as compared to men (M = 3.16, SD = 3.74), $t(641) = 5.75$, $p < .001$, $d = 0.46$, $CI_d = 0.30 – 0.62$.There was also a marginal interaction between participant gender and prior arrest. After splitting the file on prior arrest, there was a gender main effect for both the no prior arrest, $F(1, 312) = 7.34$, $p = .007$, $\eta p^2 = .023$, and prior arrest conditions, $F(1, 305) = 30.06$, $p < .001$, $\eta p^2 = .090$. The gender differences are in the direction as previously described, but the d-value is higher for those in the prior arrest condition ($d = 0.63$, $CI_d = 0.41 – 0.86$) as compared to the no prior arrest condition ($d = 0.30$, $CI_d = 0.07 – 0.52$), showing some evidence of greater gender differences occur when victim had a prior arrest for commercial sex acts as compared to when she had no prior arrest.

Human Trafficking Myths. There was a multivariate main effect for trafficking myth acceptance, $\lambda = 0.63$, *Mult.* $F(2, 633) = 187.41$, $p < .001$, $\eta p^2 = .372$, and a marginally significant multivariate effect for prior arrest, $\lambda = 0.99$, *Mult.* $F(2, 633) = 2.96$, $p = .053$, $\eta p^2 = .009$. Table 15 displays the univariate effects for agreement and certainty with trafficking myth acceptance as a moderator.

Table 5.4 displays a main effect of trafficking myth acceptance and prior arrest on the agreement of social services over legal consequences. For the prior arrest main effect, participants reported more agreement when Sarah had no previous arrest (*EMM* = 2.32) as compared to when she had a previous arrest (*EMM* = 2.08). Additionally, participants with stronger trafficking myth endorsement were less likely to recommend social services over legal consequences, $r(658) = -0.58$, $p < .001$. There were no other significant main effects or interactions for the agreement outcome variable.

Table 5.15

Analysis of Variance with Trafficking Myth Scale as a Moderator and with Vulnerability, Prior Arrest, and Emotion Regulation as Manipulated Factors on Agreement and Certainty Indices

Effect	*MS(error)*	*F*	*df*	*p*	ηp^2
Social Services Over Legal Consequences Agreement					
Trafficking Myth Scale	973.23	325.19	1, 634	.000	.339
Vulnerability	0.83	0.28	1, 634	.598	.000
Prior Arrest	15.33	5.12	1, 634	.024	.008
Emotion Regulation (ER)	2.21	0.74	3, 634	.529	.003
Trafficking Myth * Vulnerability	0.76	0.25	1, 634	.615	.000
Trafficking Myth * Prior Arrest	8.74	2.92	1, 634	.088	.005
Trafficking Myth * ER	0.64	0.22	3, 634	.886	.001
Vulnerability * Prior Arrest	0.19	0.06	1, 634	.801	.000
Vulnerability * Emotion Regulation	6.98	2.33	3, 634	.073	.011
Prior Arrest * Emotion Regulation	1.96	0.65	3, 634	.580	.003

Vulnerability * Prior Arrest * ER	1.59	0.53	3, 634	.661	.003
Social Services Over Legal Consequences Certainty					
Trafficking Myth Scale	2975.90	299.48	1, 634	.000	.321
Vulnerability	8.05	0.81	1, 634	.368	.001
Prior Arrest	7.01	0.71	1, 634	.401	.001
Emotion Regulation (ER)	10.86	1.09	3, 634	.351	.005
Trafficking Myth * Vulnerability	5.67	0.57	1, 634	.450	.001
Trafficking Myth * Prior Arrest	4.56	0.46	1, 634	.499	.001
Trafficking Myth * ER	10.54	1.06	3, 634	.365	.005
Vulnerability * Prior Arrest	8.40	0.85	1, 634	.358	.001
Vulnerability * Emotion Regulation	15.57	1.57	3, 634	.196	.007
Prior Arrest * Emotion Regulation	15.48	1.56	3, 634	.198	.007
Vulnerability * Prior Arrest * ER	0.95	0.10	3, 634	.963	.000

For the certainty outcome variable, there was only a main effect of trafficking myth endorsement, such that participants who strongly endorsed human trafficking myths were less certain in their recommendations of social services over legal consequences, $r(655) = -0.56$, $p < .001$. There were no other significant main effects or interactions for the certainty outcome variable.

GFERQ and SFERQ. For the GFERQ moderation analysis, there was a multivariate main effect for the GFERQ, $\lambda = 0.89$, *Mult.* $F(2, 633) = 39.31$, $p < .001$, $\eta p^2 = .110$. Table 5.5 displays the univariate effects for the GFERQ moderation analyses on both agreement and certainty outcomes. As displayed, there is only a main effect of GFERQ ratings for both agreement and certainty, such that participants who reported more goal-focused emotion regulation strategies were more likely to recommend and more certain in their recommendations of social services over legal consequences, $r(658)$

= 0.29, $p < .001$; $r(655) = 0.31$, $p < .001$, respectively. There were no other significant effects for agreement or certainty using the GFERQ as a moderator.

Table 5.16

Analysis of Variance with the GFERQ as a Moderator and with Vulnerability, Prior Arrest, and Emotion Regulation as Manipulated Factors on Agreement and Certainty Indices

Effect	*MS(error)*	*F*	*df*	*p*	ηp^2
Social Services Over Legal Consequences Agreement					
Goal-Focused Emotion Regulation (GFER)	249.35	60.53	1, 634	.000	.087
Vulnerability	0.13	0.03	1, 634	.858	.000
Prior Arrest	0.61	0.15	1, 634	.700	.000
Emotion Regulation (ER)	7.63	1.85	3, 634	.137	.009
GFER * Vulnerability	0.01	0.00	1, 634	.960	.000
GFER * Prior Arrest	0.19	0.05	1, 634	.832	.000
GFER * ER	5.91	1.44	3, 634	.231	.007
Vulnerability * Prior Arrest	0.72	0.17	1, 634	.677	.000
Vulnerability * Emotion Regulation	4.60	1.12	3, 634	.342	.005
Prior Arrest * Emotion Regulation	3.08	0.75	3, 634	.524	.004
Vulnerability * Prior Arrest * ER	0.39	0.10	3, 634	.963	.000
Social Services Over Legal Consequences Certainty					
Goal-Focused Emotion Regulation (GFER)	985.22	75.11	1, 634	.000	.106
Vulnerability	2.93	0.22	1, 634	.636	.000
Prior Arrest	35.02	2.67	1, 634	.103	.004
Emotion Regulation (ER)	19.29	1.47	3, 634	.221	.007
GFER * Vulnerability	6.60	0.50	1, 634	.479	.001
GFER * Prior Arrest	35.58	2.71	1, 634	.100	.004
GFER * ER	15.14	1.15	3, 634	.327	.005
Vulnerability * Prior Arrest	1.73	0.13	1, 634	.717	.000
Vulnerability * Emotion Regulation	10.63	0.81	3, 634	.488	.004
Prior Arrest * Emotion Regulation	2.83	0.22	3, 634	.886	.001
Vulnerability * Prior Arrest * ER	4.35	0.33	3, 634	.802	.002

For the SFERQ, there was a multivariate main effect for prior arrest, $\lambda = 0.99$, *Mult.* $F(2, 633) = 3.32$, $p = .037$, $\eta p^2 = .010$, and a significant two-way interaction between prior arrest and the SFERQ, $\lambda = 0.99$, *Mult.* $F(2, 633) = 3.96$, $p = .020$, $\eta p^2 = .012$. Despite the multivariate effects, there were no significant univariate effects for agreement or certainty using the SFERQ as a moderator (see Table 5.6).

Table 5.17

Analysis of Variance with the SFER as a Moderator and with Vulnerability, Prior Arrest, and Emotion Regulation as Manipulated Factors on Agreement and Certainty Indices

Effect	*MS(error)*	*F*	*df*	*p*	ηp^2
Social Services Over Legal Consequences Agreement					
Strategy-Focused Emotion Regulation (SFER)	3.88	0.86	1, 634	.355	.001
Vulnerability	0.65	0.14	1, 634	.704	.000
Prior Arrest	0.48	0.11	1, 634	.745	.000
Emotion Regulation (ER)	2.94	0.65	3, 634	.584	.003
SFER * Vulnerability	0.53	0.12	1, 634	.732	.000
SFER * Prior Arrest	1.32	0.29	1, 634	.590	.000
SFER * ER	2.50	0.55	3, 634	.647	.003
Vulnerability * Prior Arrest	0.01	0.00	1, 634	.972	.000
Vulnerability * Emotion Regulation	1.97	0.44	3, 634	.728	.002
Prior Arrest * Emotion Regulation	2.44	0.54	3, 634	.656	.003
Vulnerability * Prior Arrest * ER	0.16	0.04	3, 634	.991	.000
Social Services Over Legal Consequences Certainty					
Strategy-Focused Emotion Regulation (SFER)	31.89	2.18	1, 634	.140	.003
Vulnerability	0.30	0.02	1, 634	.886	.000
Prior Arrest	26.75	1.83	1, 634	.177	.003
Emotion Regulation (ER)	5.25	0.36	3, 634	.783	.002
SFER * Vulnerability	1.26	0.09	1, 634	.769	.000
SFER * Prior Arrest	25.32	1.73	1, 634	.189	.003
SFER * ER	2.77	0.19	3, 634	.904	.001
Vulnerability * Prior Arrest	6.55	0.45	1, 634	.503	.001
Vulnerability * Emotion Regulation	3.40	0.23	3, 634	.874	.001

Prior Arrest * Emotion Regulation	3.95	0.27	3, 634	.847	.001
Vulnerability * Prior Arrest * ER	3.07	0.21	3, 634	.890	.001

Mediation Analyses

A set of 2 (youth vulnerability background: vulnerable vs. non vulnerable) x 2 (youth prior arrest: second prostitution arrest vs. no previous arrest) x 4 (emotion regulation condition: control vs. no strategy vs. suppression vs. cognitive reappraisal) between subjects ANOVAs. tested for potential mediation using moral emotion reduction, victim believability and victim responsibility as outcome measures.

Moral Emotion Decrease. As displayed in Table 5.7, there was a significant effect of emotion regulation on moral emotion decrease. As previously described in the manipulation check section, non-parametric tests show that participants in the Suppression condition significantly decreased their negative moral emotions more than participants in the control, no strategy, and cognitive reappraisal condition. The parametric analysis gives a similar result, with LSD post-hoc tests showing significant differences between suppression (M = 0.28, SD = .64,) and control (M = 0.11, SD = .40, p = .002, d = 0.33, CI_d = 0.11 – 0.55), no strategy (M = 0.16, SD = .46, p = .031, d = 0.22, CI_d = 0.01 – 0.44), and cognitive reappraisal (M = 0.16, SD = .55, p = .027, d = 0.21, CI_d = 0.00 – 0.43). No other conditions differ from each other (p's > .370). There were no other effects for decrease in moral emotions.

Table 5.18

Analysis of Variance Results for Vulnerability, Prior Arrest, and Emotion Regulation on Decrease in Total Moral Emotions

Effect	*SS*	*MS*	*F*	*df*	*p*	ηp^2
Vulnerability	0.58	0.58	2.14	1	.144	.003
Prior Arrest	0.56	0.56	2.07	1	.151	.003
Emotion Regulation (ER)	2.80	0.93	3.45	3	.016	.016
Vulnerability * Prior Arrest	0.07	0.07	0.27	1	.605	.000
Vulnerability * Emotion Regulation	0.98	0.33	1.21	3	.306	.006
Prior Arrest * Emotion Regulation	0.33	0.11	0.41	3	.749	.002
Vulnerability * Prior Arrest * ER	0.77	0.26	0.95	3	.414	.004
Error	173.53	0.27		642		

Believability. Table 5.8 displays a significant interaction between vulnerability and emotion regulation on perceptions of victim believability. Specifically, there was a main effect of vulnerability in the no strategy emotion regulation condition, $F(1, 158) = 4.74$, $p = .031$, $\eta p^2 = .029$, such that participants reported that they believed the victim more when she came from a vulnerable background ($M = 5.01$, $SD = 1.15$) as compared to a non-vulnerable background ($M = 4.56$, $SD = 1.32$). There were no other effects of vulnerability in the other emotion regulation conditions (F's < 1.93, p's > .167). There were no other effects for perceptions of believability.

Table 5.19

Analysis of Variance Results for Vulnerability, Prior Arrest, and Emotion Regulation on Believability

Effect	*SS*	*MS*	*F*	*df*	*p*	ηp^2
Vulnerability	1.44	1.44	1.13	1	.287	.002
Prior Arrest	4.23	4.23	3.33	1	.069	.005
Emotion Regulation (ER)	1.26	0.42	0.33	3	.803	.002
Vulnerability * Prior Arrest	0.96	0.96	0.76	1	.385	.001
Vulnerability * Emotion Regulation	10.28	3.43	2.69	3	.045	.012
Prior Arrest * Emotion Regulation	3.57	1.19	0.94	3	.423	.004
Vulnerability * Prior Arrest * ER	2.21	0.74	0.58	3	.629	.003
Error	818.00	1.27		643		

Victim Responsibility. As displayed in Table 5.9, there were no significant effects on perceptions of victim responsibility for any of the manipulated variables.

Table 5.20

Analysis of Variance Results for Vulnerability, Prior Arrest, and Emotion Regulation on the Victim Responsibility Scale

Effect	*SS*	*MS*	*F*	*df*	*p*	ηp^2
Vulnerability	5.42	5.42	2.49	1	.115	.004
Prior Arrest	0.93	0.93	0.43	1	.514	.001
Emotion Regulation (ER)	15.81	5.27	2.42	3	.065	.011
Vulnerability * Prior Arrest	0.43	0.43	0.20	1	.657	.000
Vulnerability * Emotion Regulation	6.04	2.01	0.92	3	.429	.004
Prior Arrest * Emotion Regulation	13.97	4.66	2.14	3	.094	.010
Vulnerability * Prior Arrest * ER	1.36	0.45	0.21	3	.891	.001

Error	1400.01	2.18	643

Mediation Models

To further explore the role of emotion regulation on outcome variables, two Hayes PROCESS (2018) model 4 mediation models on agreement and certainty tested whether the reductions of negative moral emotions predicted the extent to which participants would agree and were certain in their recommendations of social services over legal consequences.

Social Services over Legal Consequences Agreement. Table 5.10 displays the results of the Model 4 program examining the mediation of moral emotion decrease as a mediator for the effect of emotion regulation on social services agreement. First, there were significant direct effects for suppression compared to the other three conditions on the emotion decrease variable. Also, there were significant direct effects of control compared to no strategy, control compared to cognitive reappraisal, and the emotion decrease variable on the agreement outcome variable. Additionally, the only evidence of mediation occurred for the suppression to control comparison. Specifically, as displayed in Figure 5.1, participants in the suppression condition significantly lowered their negative emotions more than those in the control condition, which in turn predicted greater agreement for social services over legal consequences. No other mediation paths were significant.

Table 5.21

Results of the Mediation Analysis for Participants' Social Services over Legal Sanctions Agreement Ratings as a function of Emotion Regulation and Decrease in Moral Emotions

Predictor	*β*	*S.E.*	*t*(654)	*p*	95% CI *β*
Decrease Moral Emotions					
Emotion Regulation					
Control vs No Strategy	.05	.06	0.87	.385	-.06 – .16
Control vs Suppression	.17	.06	3.04	.003	.06 – .29
Control vs CR	.05	.06	0.83	.406	-.06 – .16
Suppression vs No Strategy	-.12	.06	-2.16	.031	-.24 – -.01
Suppression vs CR	-.13	.06	-2.22	.027	-.24 – -.01
No Strategy vs CR	-.00	.06	-0.04	.965	-.12 – .11
Social Services Over Legal Consequences Agreement					
Emotion Regulation					
Control vs No Strategy	-.46	.23	-1.97	.049	-.92 – -.00
Control vs Suppression	-.26	.23	-1.13	.261	-.72 – .20
Control vs CR	-.46	.23	-1.99	.047	-.92 – -.01
Suppression vs No Strategy	-.20	.23	-0.85	.396	-.66 – .26
Suppression vs CR	-.20	.23	-0.86	.392	-.65 – .26
No Strategy vs CR	-.00	.23	-0.00	.999	-.46 – .46
Decrease Moral Emotions	.39	.16	2.45	.015	.08 – .70

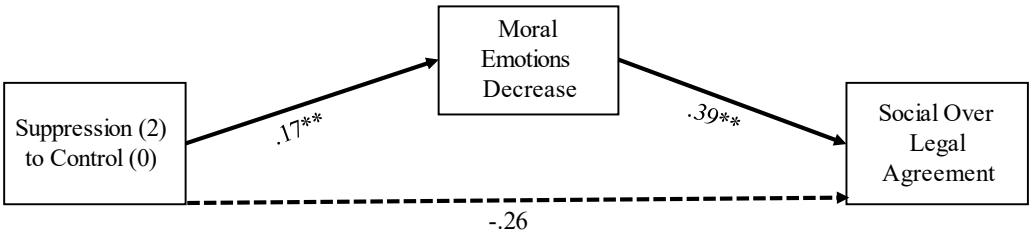
Table 5.10 (continued)

Predictor	*β*	*S.E.*	*t*(653)	*p*	95% CI *β*
Agreement (Indirect Mediation Effects)*					
Emotion Regulation					
Control vs No Strategy	.02	.02	**	ns	-.02 – .07
Control vs Suppression	.07	.04	**	< .05	.01 – .15
Control vs CR	.02	.02	**	ns	-.02 – .07
Suppression vs No Strategy	-.05	.03	**	ns	-.12 – .00
Suppression vs CR	-.05	.03	**	ns	-.12 – .00
No Strategy vs CR	-.00	.02	**	ns	-.05 – .05

*Standard Errors are estimated with bootstraps and confidence intervals replace *t*-test

Figure 5.1

Comparing Suppression to Control Mediation Model with Emotion Decrease on Agreement



Social Services over Legal Consequences Certainty. Table 5.11 displays the results of the Model 4 program examining the mediation model for the certainty outcome variable. First there were direct effects between suppression and all other emotion regulation conditions on the decrease in negative moral emotions. Additionally, there were direct effects for control compared to cognitive reappraisal and decrease moral emotions on the certainty outcome variable. Notably, the only evidence for mediation once again comes from the suppression and control comparison. Specifically, as

displayed in Figure 5.2, participants in the suppression condition reported a greater decrease in negative emotions, which in turn predicted greater certainty for recommending social services over legal consequences. No other mediation paths were significant.

Table 5.22

Results of the Mediation Analysis for Participants' Social Services Certainty Ratings as a function of Emotion Regulation and Decrease in Moral Emotions

Predictor	*β*	*S.E.*	*t*(651)	*p*	95% CI *β*
Decrease Moral Emotions					
Emotion Regulation					
Control vs No Strategy	.05	.06	0.85	.393	-.06 – .16
Control vs Suppression	.18	.06	3.05	.002	.06 – .29
Control vs CR	.05	.06	0.81	.418	-.07 – .16
Suppression vs No Strategy	-.13	.06	-2.19	.029	-.24 – -.01
Suppression vs CR	-.13	.06	-2.25	.025	-.24 – -.02
No Strategy vs CR	-.00	.06	-0.05	.961	-.12 – .11
Social Services Over Legal Consequences Certainty					
Emotion Regulation					
Control vs No Strategy	-.60	.42	-1.42	.156	-1.42 – .23
Control vs Suppression	-.33	.42	-0.78	.436	-1.16 – .50
Control vs CR	-.90	.42	-2.15	.032	-1.72 – -.08
Suppression vs No Strategy	-.27	.42	-0.64	.523	-1.09 – .56
Suppression vs CR	-.57	.42	-1.36	.173	-1.39 – .25
No Strategy vs CR	-.30	.42	-0.72	.472	-1.12 – .52
Decrease Moral Emotions	.60	.28	2.11	.035	.04 – 1.16

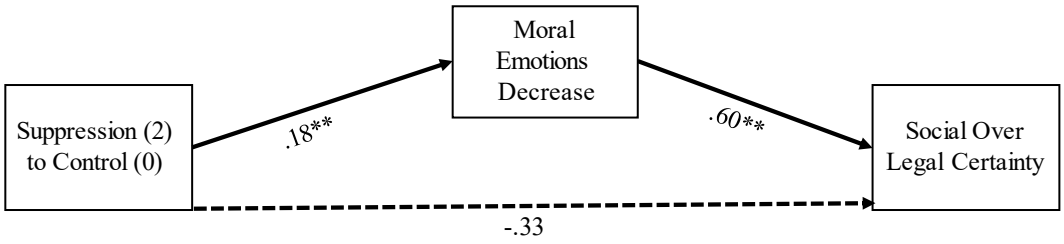
Table 5.11 (continued)

Predictor	*β*	*S.E.*	*t*(650)	*p*	95% CI *β*
Certainty (Indirect Mediation Effects)*					
Emotion Regulation					
Control vs No Strategy	.03	.03	**	ns	-.03 – .11
Control vs Suppression	.11	.06	**	<.05	.01 – .25
Control vs CR	.03	.03	**	ns	-.04 – .09
Suppression vs No Strategy	-.08	.06	**	ns	-.21 – .00
Suppression vs CR	-.08	.06	**	ns	-.23 – .00
No Strategy vs CR	-.00	.04	**	ns	-.09 – .06

*Standard Errors are estimated with bootstraps and confidence intervals replace *t*-test

Figure 5.2

Comparing Suppression to Control Mediation Model with Emotion Decrease on Certainty



In summary, it appears that when participants suppress their negative emotions, they report a greater decrease in negative moral emotions as compared to participants in the control condition. This in turn predicts greater agreement and certainty for recommending social services over legal consequences. Interestingly, the paths exploring suppression as compared to the no strategy and cognitive reappraisal condition did not provide evidence for mediation. It was only in the comparison of suppression and control that evidence for significant mediation emerged.

5.4 Discussion

Unlike Experiment 1, Experiment 2 found no effects in the basic models for agreement or certainty for social services over legal consequences. However, when testing potential moderators (i.e., participant gender, human trafficking myth acceptance, GFERQ, and SFERQ), main effects for participant gender, myth acceptance, and the GFERQ did emerge. Similar to Experiment 1, women were more likely to recommend social services over legal consequences as compared to men. Additionally, women were more certain than men in their recommendations, particularly when Sarah had a prior arrest for commercial sex acts. Again, similar to Experiment 1, participants with higher endorsement of human trafficking myths were more likely and certain to recommend social services over legal consequences When controlling for human trafficking myth endorsement, participants were more likely to recommend social services over legal consequences when Sarah had no prior arrest as compared to when she did, a finding similar to Experiment 1. However, in Experiment 2, prior arrest effects resulted only after controlling for potential moderators.

There was a main effect of GFERQ, suggesting participants who report more goal-focused (i.e., outcome focused) emotion regulation strategies were more likely and certain to recommend social services over legal consequences. There was no effect for the SFERQ, which is more closely tied to cognitive reappraisal strategies of emotion regulation. This is interesting, because these results demonstrated participants in the suppression condition were more successful at reducing their negative moral emotions compared to participants in all other emotion regulation conditions. Additionally, this reduction in moral emotions predicted a greater likelihood and certainty in

recommending social services over legal consequences as compared to participants in the control condition. The general discussion (Chapter 6) to follow further explores implications for theory and practice, and limitations and future directions, for Experiment 2.

CHAPTER 6: GENERAL DISCUSSION

Summary and Interpretation of Results

Review of Hypotheses

Both experiments hypothesized main effects for prior arrest, vulnerability, and an interaction between the two variables. In Experiments 1 and 2, prior arrest did influence case outcome decisions, such that participants were more likely to recommend social services over legal consequences when the youth did not have a prior arrest for commercial sex acts as compared to a youth who did have a prior arrest. Notably, in Experiment 2, this effect only emerged after controlling for human trafficking myth endorsement. Additionally, participants reported greater negative moral emotions, less believability, and more victim responsibility when the youth had a prior arrest as compared to when the youth had no prior arrest.

Experiment 1 did show an effect for vulnerability such that participants were more certain in their recommendations of social services over legal consequences when the youth came from a vulnerable background as compared to when the youth came from a non-vulnerable background. However, this effect did not replicate in Experiment 2. Experiment 1 also showed a main effect for vulnerability on perceptions of victim responsibility, such that participants reported more responsibility when the youth came from a non-vulnerable background as compared to a vulnerable background. However, the hypothesized two-way interaction between prior arrest and vulnerability that Wiener et al (in press) found for adult survivors did not emerge in either of the current studies of youth survivors. Future research should manipulate the age of the survivor to determine if this interaction is more likely to occur for adult relative to youthful victims of trafficking.

Experiment 1 also hypothesized a main effect for youth sex, but this was an exploratory hypothesis without a specific direction. In study 1, participants were marginally more likely to recommend social services over legal consequences for the female youth, Sarah, as compared to the male youth, Chris. However, participants found Sarah's version of events to be less believable when she had a prior arrest as compared to when she had no prior arrest. For Chris, prior arrest history did not influence perceptions of believability. Lastly, the effect of the youth's sex on outcome decisions was dependent on the youth's prior arrest history and the sex of the trafficker, such that participants were most sensitive to a youth's prior arrest history when the youth was a male and the trafficker was a female. In this condition, participants were more likely to recommend social services over legal consequences.

Most interestingly, Experiment 1 shows evidence that the participant's emotional reaction and perceptions of victim responsibility influenced outcomes for the male CSTV depending on his history of previous arrests. When Chris had a prior arrest, participants reported more negative moral emotions and attributed greater responsibility to him, resulting in lower likelihood and certainty to recommend social services over legal consequences. But this effect was only present when the male's trafficker was a female. Alternatively, when participants read about Sarah who had a prior arrest for commercial sex acts, they reported her version of events as less believable, which in turn predicted a lower likelihood and certainty to recommend social services over legal consequences. This effect was present regardless of trafficker sex.

Finally, Experiment 2 predicted a main effect for emotion regulation on case outcome decisions, such that participants who cognitively reappraised their emotions

with the instruction to decrease their emotional response would report a greater likelihood of recommending social services over legal consequences as compared to participants in all other emotion regulation conditions. In actuality, and surprisingly, suppression was more effective at emotion regulation than were the other techniques. Participants in the suppression condition were more successful at reducing their negative moral emotions toward the female survivor, which in turn predicted a greater likelihood and certainty to recommend social services over legal consequences for her. This effect did not occur in any of the other ER conditions, and it did not involve prior arrest record or vulnerability.

Interpretation of Significant Findings

Role of Arrest History. Based on both studies findings, it appears prior arrest history is a significant factor in predicting how people respond to child sex trafficking victims, although this factor might be more important for female trafficking victims as compared to male trafficking victims. Indeed, a history of prior arrest for commercial sex acts appears to be more damaging for a female trafficking survivor as compared to males. This is consistent with other findings (Annitto, 2011; Menaker & Franklin, 2015) and suggests that people hold females to a higher sexual standard, even when they are trafficking survivors. That may partially explain why repeat offenses to that standard could result in harsher penalties for girls as compared to boys.

This is a notable finding, as some State laws allow the court a great deal of leeway in determining whether a child who engaged in commercial sex acts can be diverted as a "person in need of supervision." The key factor that guides this discretion is whether the youth is a "repeat offender of prostitution" (Safe Harbor Act, 2008). Thus, especially for female youth, a history of prior commercial sex acts can result in more

punitive decisions. Additionally, some scholars describe a cycle of victimization in which victims that do not receive appropriate intervention services often return to the life they have known as sexual objects to survive (Butler, 2015). It follows that it is not uncommon for officers to interact with a youth who has a previous arrest for commercial sex acts. Future research should continue to explore both the effects of prior arrest on attributions of culpability and ways to offset the overpowering influence of a history of prostitution on judgments about trafficking survivors.

The Role of Negative Moral Emotions. The moderated mediation models in Experiment 1 that explored the effects of youth sex, trafficker sex, and prior arrest history produced two very different paths for outcome decisions, one for male survivors and another for female survivors. As described above, negative moral emotions and victim responsibility predicted the outcome decision for the male, Chris, but only when his trafficker was a female. This interesting finding contributes to the current literature to help shape our understanding of how people make judgments of trafficking survivors. Specifically, Bouche and colleagues (2018) found participants expressed more concern for a male as compared to a female trafficking victim, although the effect was only marginally significant. Thus, when Chris in the current study had a prior arrest, participants might have felt less concern, which does appear to be the case as participants reported greater negative moral emotions.

This path may lead to the possible conclusion that participants' emotional responses might not be as influential for youthful female trafficking victims as compared to young male trafficking victims. However, participants emotional reactions are not out of the picture when considering female survivors as evidenced in Experiment 2, which

did not show many significant effects, but the study did show one important and interesting finding involving the regulation of negative moral emotions. Namely, there was a significant reduction in negative moral emotions for participants who suppressed their emotions as compared to participants who engaged in cognitive reappraisal, no strategy with the goal of lowering emotions, or those in the control condition. Furthermore, those participants who showed a reduction in negative moral emotions as a result of suppression favored offering services over legal consequences to the victim. Importantly, this path emerged in the case in which a male trafficker victimized an underage girl, which is the more frequently occurring type of incident (Cole, 2018; Moore, 2020). Future research should continue to explore the impact of emotions on child sex trafficking cases, noting how emotional reactions might differ for male and female youth, and which emotion regulation techniques might be more influential in reducing negative moral emotions.

This suppression effect was not expected, as previous research has shown that cognitive reappraisal is a powerful strategy for redirecting moral emotions such as anger, disgust, and contempt (Ray et al., 2008). However, this and other studies (e.g., Raio et al., 2013) demonstrated that the advantage of cognitive reappraisal depends on the emotional intensity of the event. Indeed, these studies showed that suppression or distraction might be more successful at reducing the experience of negative emotions for a highly intense event. It is likely that reading a vignette depicting child sex trafficking is highly charged, so that suppression was a superior technique compared to cognitive reappraisal for the current scenario. Furthermore, based on Tamir and colleagues (2020) view of emotion regulation as a motivated process, participants in all conditions except the control

condition were instructed to decrease their negative emotions. Participants in all emotion regulation conditions including the control condition reported significantly fewer negative emotions at time 2 (following the emotion regulation instructions) as compared to time 1, which demonstrates diminished emotion intensity over time. However, only those in the suppression condition reported a greater decrease as compared to those in the control condition. In other words, participants in the cognitive reappraisal and no strategy conditions were just as likely as those in the control condition to report weaker negative emotions at time 2. Following the lead of Tamir et al. (2020), future research should vary more completely emotion regulation strategies by orthogonally manipulating both technique and motivation so that the instructions tell some evaluators simply to suppress (or reappraise) while telling others to do so with an explicit charge to reduce negative moral emotions. It will be important for future work to determine the best way to assist decision makers to free themselves of the biasing effects of negative moral emotions that the mere presence of youth who violate sexual taboos automatically induces.

From a more practical perspective, individuals who argue that youth should be offered appropriate psychosocial services rather than being punished with legal consequences may find useful the finding that those in the suppression condition significantly lowered their negative emotions, and that in turn predicted a greater likelihood and certainty to recommend social services over legal consequences as compared to participants in the control condition. If the current findings replicate, those who back offering services to CSTVs might advocate suppression motivated emotion regulation techniques for legal professionals who interact with and make decisions about trafficked youth. Indeed, suppression might work better than cognitive appraisal

strategies for individuals with high stress professions, including police officers and probation officers, as previous research has detailed the limits of cognitive reappraisal in high stress situations (Raio et al., 2013).

The Role of Believability. Most interestingly, the moderated mediation model for Experiment 1 showed that for Sarah, the female CSTV, the trafficker's sex did not matter. Furthermore, perceptions of believability, instead of moral emotions or victim responsibility, predicted case outcome decisions. This finding is consistent with Voogt and colleagues (2020) who found that participants viewed male victims as more competent than female victims, although this did not influence perceptions of believability or credibility. However, Voogt and colleagues (2020) did not consider whether a youth's prior arrest history could interact with their gender to influence perceptions of believability. Combining the current results with those of Voogt et al. (2020) suggests that participants may have viewed the boy, Chris, as more competent than the girl, Sarah, in the current study, which influenced their perceptions of victim responsibility and believability. However, when Chris had a prior arrest, participants may have found him less competent and attributed greater responsibility to him for the trafficking incident as compared to when he had no prior arrest. For Sarah, participants may have started out thinking that she was less competent, which could have influenced believability ratings, especially when she had a prior arrest for commercial sex acts. Future research should explore the relationships between competence stereotypes, attributions of responsibility, believability, and judgments of culpability for CSTVs of both genders, perhaps using Fiske et al.'s (1999; 2002) Stereotype Content Model similar to the Wiener et al. (in press) study of adult female trafficking survivors.

Implications for Theory

This research has the potential to impact theory regarding the treatment of trafficking survivors as well as our understanding of the role of motivation in emotion regulation strategies. First, extending the believability argument further, it might be that people including the police may be more concerned with perceptions of believability for a female victim as compared to a male victim, as evidenced by the fact that law enforcement officers bring in more young females for commercial sex acts as compared to young males (Cole, 2018; Moore, 2020). Indeed, Bornstein and Muller (2001) found that mock jurors rated male victims as more truthful than female victims in sexual abuse trials. This explanation draws additional support from the rape myth literature, which shows how fictious beliefs malign female complainants' credibility and believability with suggestions that women lie or exaggerate about sexual assaults (Koss et al., 1994). More research studying believability judgments about male and female CSTVs are in order.

Second, it is important to consider how perceptions of believability might differ for male and female youth as a function of their prior arrest history. There were some effects to suggest youth who come from a non-vulnerable background may be less likely to receive social services over legal consequences as compared to youth who come from a vulnerable background, but the expected interaction between vulnerability and prior arrest history did not emerge. Thus, it could be possible that participants are distinguishing between vulnerable backgrounds, but overall reporting high levels of vulnerability that do not influence case outcome decisions because vulnerability does not impact judgments of believability. Nonetheless, future research exploring perceptions about child sex trafficking victims should note the importance of considering the youth's

sex, prior arrest history, and vulnerability background when determining how individuals will respond to these youth and which ones that they find believable.

Third, research shows that emotions influence case outcome decisions, but future research should continue to explore the exact mechanisms that underly this effect. In the current project, emotion regulation did reduce negative moral emotions, but this was most notable for those in the suppression condition who were motivated to reduce their negative emotions. Those in the no strategy condition, who were simply instructed to decrease their negative emotions, did so, but not to the same extent as those in the suppression condition and not significantly more than those in the control condition. Thus, Tamir and colleagues (2020) view of motivated emotion regulation might need to adjust for emotionally charged events, as Raio and colleagues (2013) note in their research. It might be possible that motivation plays different roles in emotion regulation depending upon the emotional intensity of the triggering event.

Implications for Practice

This research also has implications for practitioners and policy makers. First, in both studies, endorsement of human trafficking myths negatively predicted the likelihood of recommending social services over legal consequences. This is notable, as previous research has shown some endorsement for human trafficking myths amongst individuals who work with trafficking survivors (Gonzalez-Pons et al., 2020). Additionally, both studies found that women, as compared to men were more likely to recommend social services over legal consequences. As such, practitioners might want to take note of sex and other potential individual difference factors that might make them more or less accommodating to victims of sex trafficking. Importantly, individuals who work with

trafficking survivors should be aware of the myths that can influence their perceptions depending upon the specifics of any individual case. Additionally, male and female practitioners may respond to trafficking survivors differently in part because previous research has shown that males may be more likely to endorse human trafficking myths (Menaker & Franklin, 2015).

A major purpose of this research was to determine what role emotion regulation plays in child sex trafficking decisions, as these results could have important implications for legal professionals who make these judgments and decisions. It is notable that suppression, which some argue is the default emotion regulation strategy for police and probation officers (Heilman et al., 2010) might be more effective than cognitive reappraisal strategies or instructions that simply tell people to lower their negative emotional response. As such, individuals who advocate for more social services for trafficked youth should note that emotions felt toward the youth can impact that decision, but suppression strategies appear to alleviate the experience of negative moral emotions and increase the likelihood of recommending social services over legal consequences. Thus, trainings that focus on implementing suppression techniques that include a motivational component of reducing negative emotions might be effective in producing desired outcomes. However, it is important to note that participants in this study did not have the opportunity to practice regulating their emotions in their emotion regulation condition. For example, they did not practice cognitively reappraising their emotions. As such, cognitive reappraisal may be more effective when individuals receive some training or practice on how to cognitively reappraise their emotions. On the other hand,

suppression might be a strategy that does not require much training or practice to successfully reduce negative moral emotions.

Limitations

These studies key findings increase our understanding of how individuals make decisions about child sex trafficking victims and what role emotions and emotion regulation can play in that process. Nonetheless, both studies are not without their limitations. First, the subjects in both studies were community members, not legal professionals. Although community member perceptions have the potential to influence policy decisions, they do not directly impact a youth's experience in the legal system. As such, it is important to replicate the current work using a legal professional sample, including police officers, probation officers, county attorneys, social workers, and judges. It is possible these individuals have more training so that their emotions do not influence case outcomes to the same extent as they do for lay community members.

Additionally, in both studies the manipulation of prior arrest history was modestly successful. As this factor does appear to influence case outcome decisions for both youth and adults (see Wiener et al., in press), it will be important to increase the strength of this manipulation in future studies. Comprehension checks may be useful to ensure participants understand the entire case regarding the youth they are reviewing. It is also possible that legal professionals may be more cognizant of this manipulation as compared to community members.

Lastly, the emotion regulation manipulation in Study 2 did not allow participants the opportunity to practice regulating their emotions, as described above. As such, it is possible cognitive reappraisal may reduce emotions to the same extent as suppression

strategies, but that this specific technique requires more training than suppression strategies. It is notable that there was no main effect on the likelihood of participants engaging in strategy focused emotion regulation (i.e., cognitive reappraisal strategies) on their likelihood to recommend social services over legal consequences. Although, their likelihood to engage in goal focused emotion regulation, which focuses more on feeling better as an outcome, did predict their willingness to recommend social services over legal consequences.

Future Directions

Several lines of research could emerge from the current project. First, it would be important to replicate this line of research with a legally relevant sample. It is possible legal professionals receive training that mitigate any emotional biases in decisions, or that their training helps them understand the inaccuracies in human trafficking myths, which could result in more rehabilitative case outcomes for youth trafficking survivors. Regardless, it is important to understand how individuals who directly impact these youths' cases perceive them based on the youths' history of prior arrest, vulnerability, and their sex. Additionally, further studies of the role of emotion regulation on child sex trafficking decisions should explore whether some techniques such as cognitive reappraisal or simple motivation instructions are more successful for participants who review a case with a male victim as compared to a female victim. For example, cognitive reappraisal might be more successful at reducing negative emotions for male CSTVs than it was for the female victim, Sarah. Indeed, moral emotions predicted case outcome decisions for Chris, but not for Sarah. Furthermore, future studies should provide

participants with training exercises to determine if training for techniques such as cognitive reappraisal are more likely to reduce negative moral emotions.

Another factor that needs additional study is the difference in perceptions of child sex trafficking victims and adult sex trafficking victims. There are differences in how legislation treats these victims and the requirements needed to demonstrate that they were the victims of trafficking. Studies of differences in perceptions as a function of age could help shape future law, especially as it relates to the vulnerability of adult sex trafficking victims as compared to youth, because people may presume youth to be more vulnerable because of their age. Finally, it is important to continue to explore how other characteristics of the youth can impact case outcome decisions. The current study explored a youth's prior arrest history, vulnerability background, and her or his sex. Race is another factor that researchers should consider when exploring how individuals respond to child sex trafficking victims. It is possible Black or Latinx trafficking survivors may be less likely to receive social services over legal consequences as compared to White trafficking survivors. In the end, it is imperative that we understand all the potential factors that influence case outcome decisions for trafficked youth. The current study contributes to the literature by furthering that pursuit and by opening the door for others to continue exploring the psycholegal underpinnings of a victim centered approach to fighting sex trafficking.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Case Vignettes

1. Sarah (Chris), No Vulnerability, No Prior Prostitution Like Offense
2. Sarah (Chris), No Vulnerability, Prior Prostitution Like Offense
3. Sarah (Chris), Vulnerability, No Prior Prostitution Like Offense
4. Sarah (Chris), Vulnerability, Prior Prostitution Like Offense

Appendix B: Measures

1. PANAS – Emotional Survey
2. Dependent Measures – Victim Interventions, Blameworthiness, and Credibility
3. Sex Trafficking Myths Scale
4. Emotion Regulation Techniques (Experiment 2 only)
5. ERQ (Experiment 2 only)
6. Manipulation Checks
7. Demographic Measures

Appendix C: No Intervention Results Tables

APPENDIX A: CASE VIGNETTES

NOT VULNERABLE, NO PROSTITUTION BEFORE

The Story of John Bolden and [Sarah, Chris] Oliver

[Sarah, Chris] meets John:

When [Sarah, Chris] was 16 years old, [she, he] ran away from home and began living on the streets. While on the streets, [Sarah, Chris] met a man, John, who often gave [her, him] gifts and treated [her, him] nicely. John told [Sarah, Chris] he would take care of [her, him]. [Sarah, Chris] developed strong feelings for John and considered him to be [her, his] boyfriend. [Sarah, Chris] trusted John and told him about [her, his] family and all [her, his] hopes and fears.

[Sarah, Chris] goes to work for John:

However, over time, John became both physically and sexually abusive toward [Sarah, Chris]. One day, John suggested that [Sarah, Chris] prostitute just once to help pay for rent. [Sarah, Chris] could not afford to lose John and wanted to please him, so [she, he] agreed to do it just once. John promised to take care of everything and give [Sarah, Chris] everything [she, he] wanted and needed. [Sarah, Chris] believed John and engaged in sexual acts with other men, giving up all the money [she, he] earned to John who took care of all [her, his] needs. John took [Sarah, Chris] on trips up and down the east coast acting as both [her, his] manager and as [her, his] boyfriend. The two continued their relationship and as it deepened [Sarah, Chris] grew dependent upon John for food, shelter and all [her, his] other needs. During this time [Sarah, Chris] earned over $50,000 for John working for him in the commercial sex trade. John advertised [Sarah, Chris] on local webpages and arranged for [her, him] to meet men and have sex for money.

Over time, John became more and more threatening and told [her, him] more and more often that [she, he] needed to work the streets. John beat [Sarah, Chris] if [she, he] did not do as [she, he] was told or if [she, he] didn't make enough money. John threatened to kill [Sarah, Chris] and [her, his] family if [she, he\ tried to leave. [Sarah, Chris] began using drugs supplied by John to cope with [her, his] situation.

The police investigation:

At this point [Sarah, Chris] decided to leave John and ran away to try to live on [her, his] own. [Sarah, Chris] found it very difficult to be without John, [she, he] missed him, and eventually came back asking for his forgiveness and promising never to run away again. Shortly after this happened John arranged for [Sarah, Chris] to engage in sex for money at a local hotel in a small town in Maryland. John had advertised [Sarah, Chris] on a website known for finding [girls, boys] for commercial sex. John drove [Sarah, Chris] to the hotel but were surprised by police officers instead of customers. The police officers had set up a sting operation by monitoring the website, which John used for advertising women.

The police arrested John and detained [Sarah, Chris] for questioning. The police learned a great deal about [Sarah, Chris]. **First, they learned that [Sarah, Chris] grew up in a middle class neighborhood outside of Chicago where [she, he] maintained good grades in high school. [Her, his] parents were teachers who had provided a wholesome and financially stable home life for their two children, [Sarah, Chris] and [her, his] younger sister Amy.**

One day [Sarah, Chris] decided to leave [her, his] home because [she, he] was tired of trying to be perfect. The police also learned that this was the first time [Sarah, Chris] engaged in any commercial sex acts and had no prior encounters with the police. [Sarah, Chris] was desolate when the police arrested John. [She, he] had no job and was desperate. However, [she, he] was very glad to done with [her, his] life as a prostitute.

NOT VULNERABLE, PROSTITUTION BEFORE

The Story of John Bolden and [Sarah, Chris] Oliver

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VULNERABLE, NO PROSTITUTION BEFORE

The Story of John Bolden and [Sarah, Chris] Oliver

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APPENDIX B: MEASURES

Emotional Survey

Emotional Reactions: Please complete the following scale, which consists of a number of words that describe different feelings and emotions. Read each item and then mark the appropriate answer in the space to the left of the word. Indicate to what extent you feel this way right now about **Sarah (Chris) Oliver.** Use the following scale to record your answers.

1	2	3	4	5
Very slightly or not at all	A little	Moderately	Quite a bit	Extremely

_____ Queasy
_____ Hostile
_____ Angry
_____ Abhorrence
_____ Repelled
_____ Disgusted
_____ Revolted
_____ Scorn
_____ Disdain
_____ Hatred
_____ Repugnance
_____ Contempt
_____ Displeased
_____ Sick to my stomach
_____ Distasteful
_____ Incensed
_____ Appalled
_____ Disrespect
_____ Detested
_____ Enraged
_____ Furious
_____ Irritated
_____ Mad
_____ Shocked
_____ Loathing
_____ Despise
_____ Sickened
_____ Vexed
_____ Grossed out
_____ Irked

Dependent Measures

Culpability and Credibility Attributions

1. Sarah (Chris) is to blame for the situation.

1	2	3	4	5	6
Strongly Disagree					Strongly Agree

2. Sarah (Chris) is responsible for the situation.

1	2	3	4	5	6
Strongly Disagree					Strongly Agree

3. Sarah (Chris) caused the situation she (he) is in.

1	2	3	4	5	6
Strongly Disagree					Strongly Agree

4. Sarah's (Chris's) version of events is believable.

1	2	3	4	5	6
Strongly Disagree					Strongly Agree

Case Judgment Questions

On a 1 (strongly disagree) to 6 (strongly agree) scale, indicate the extent to which Sarah (Chris) should receive the following recommendations:

1. Legal interventions (e.g., diversion, secure detention, formal arrest)

1	2	3	4	5	6
Strongly Disagree					Strongly Agree

2. Social services interventions (e.g., counseling services, emergency shelter, forensic medical exam, STI testing

1	2	3	4	5	6
Strongly Disagree					Strongly Agree

3. No interventions (e.g., the police should let Sarah [Chris] leave without deciding for any legal or social interventions).

1	2	3	4	5	6
Strongly Disagree					Strongly Agree

Indicate the extent to which you are certain that Sarah (Chris) should receive the following interventions:

1. Legal Interventions (e.g., diversion, secure detention, formal arrest)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Not at all certain									Completely Certain

2. Social services interventions (e.g., counseling services, emergency shelter, forensic medical exam, STI testing

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Not at all certain									Completely Certain

3. No interventions (e.g., the police should let Sarah [Chris] leave without deciding for any legal or social interventions).

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Not at all certain									Completely Certain

Human Trafficking Myths Scale

Please rate the following statements on a scale of 1 to 6, where 1 = *definitely false*, 2 = *mostly false*, 3 = *probably false*, 4 = *probably true*, 5 = *mostly true*, and 6 = *definitely true*.

1. Human trafficking is another term for smuggling.

2. Human trafficking must include elements of physical force, restraint, bondage, and/or violence.

3. Human trafficking does not happen in the United States.

4. If someone did not want to be trafficked, he or she would leave the situation.

5. U.S. citizens are trafficked in their own country (reverse coded).

6. Human trafficking victims will seek help as soon as they have the opportunity.

7. People from other countries who are trafficked in the United States are always illegal immigrants.

8. Normal-appearing, well-educated, middle-class people are not trafficked.

9. Human trafficking victims will tell authorities they are being trafficked as soon as they have the opportunity.

10. Human trafficking must involve some form of travel, transportation, or movement across state or national borders.

11. If persons are trafficked in the United States, they are always from poor, uneducated communities.

12. If a child solicits sex from an adult in exchange for money, food, or shelter, he or she is not a victim.

13. Only foreigners and illegal immigrants are trafficked.

14. Human trafficking is always controlled by organized crime.

15. A person who is trafficked will always feel negatively toward the person(s) trafficking him or her.

16. If a person receives any kind of payment for sex, he or she is not being trafficked.

17. Human trafficking only occurs in undeveloped countries.

Emotion Regulation Instructions

Cognitive reappraisal condition with instructions to decrease emotional reactions

The case you just read about can cause some individuals to feel certain emotions. Before proceeding to the case judgment questions, we would like for you to re-think the previously read scenario from the perspective of a neutral third-party who evaluates the situation from a fair and unbiased perspective. The goal of this process is to decrease the emotional reactions that you felt after reading the scenario. In the space provided, please write how you think the third party would have described the event from a neutral point of view.

_____

_____

_____

Suppression condition with instructions to decrease emotional reactions

The case you just read about can cause some individuals to feel certain emotions. Before proceeding to the case judgment questions, we would like for you to control your emotional response to the case by keeping your face as neutral as possible and ignoring all emotions felt towards this case. The goal of this process is to decrease the emotional reactions that you felt after reading the scenario. In the space provided, please write how you plan to ignore any emotional responses to the case as you make your decisions.

_____

_____

_____

Lower emotional reactions condition without a strategy

The case you just read about can cause some individuals to feel certain emotions. Before proceeding to the case judgment questions, we would like for you to re-think the previously read scenario and decrease the emotional reactions that you felt after reading that scenario. In the space provided, please write how you would think about the scenario in order to decrease your emotional reactions to the scenario.

_____

_____

_____

Control Condition

We are interested in learning about your reactions to the case that you just read. In the space below, please write a paragraph describing what you were thinking as you read this case. Write the paragraph as if you were describing the case to a stranger who had never heard about it. Try to describe the facts and events in a way that would make that stranger understand the way you thought about the case.

_____

_____

_____

ERQ

Scale: 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree)

1. I control my emotions by changing the way I think about the situation I'm in.
2. When I want to feel less negative emotion, I change the way I'm thinking about the situation.
3. When I want to feel more positive emotion, I change the way I'm thinking about the situation.
4. When I want to feel more positive emotion (such as joy or amusement), I change what I'm thinking about.
5. When I want to feel less negative emotion (such as sadness or anger), I change what I'm thinking about.
6. When I'm faced with a stressful situation, I make myself think about it in a way that helps me stay calm.
7. I control my emotions by not expressing them.
8. When I am feeling negative emotions, I make sure not to express them.
9. I keep my emotions to myself.
10. When I am feeling positive emotions, I am careful not to express them.

Manipulation Checks

Please answer the following questions that ask you about the story that you just read. The questions have one correct answer based upon the story. Please select the correct answer to the question.

1. In the story that you just read did [Sarah, Chris] Oliver engage in commercial sexual acts or contact with another person **BEFORE** [she, he] met John Bolden and began working for him? (Yes vs. No)

2. Rate how vulnerable [Sarah, Chris] Oliver was when [she, he] met John Bolden.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not vulnerable at all			Moderately vulnerable			Extremely vulnerable

Demographics

1. What is your age? _____ Years

2. What is the highest education level you have completed?

_____ less than high school graduate _____ graduated college

_____ high school graduate _____ some graduate or professional school

_____ some college _____ finished graduate or professional school

3. What is your religious preference (if any)?

_____ Protestant _____ Islamic _____ Atheist

_____ Catholic _____ Hindu _____ Other

_____ Jewish _____ Agnostic

4. What is your current work status? Check one:

_____ Employed full time _____ Employed part time _____ Unemployed

4a. What is your occupation? _____

5. What is your current marital status? Check one:

_____ Single _____ Married _____ Divorced _____ Widowed

6. Do you have any children? _____ Yes _____ No

a. If yes, list the sex and age of each up to 5 children on the lines below in order of ages:

Child 1: _____ age _____ Male _____ Female

Child 2: _____ age _____ Male _____ Female

Child 3: _____ age _____ Male _____ Female

Child 4: _____ age _____ Male _____ Female

Child 5: _____ age _____ Male _____ Female

7. What is your political affiliation?

_____ Democrat _____ Republican _____ No affiliation

_____ Other

8. Have you ever served as a juror? Check one:

_____ Yes _____ No

9. Have you ever been convicted of a felony? Check one:

_____ Yes _____ No

10. What sex were you assigned at birth (e.g., on your original birth certificate?)

Female (1) Male (2) Intersex (3)

11. Which of the following best describes your gender today?

Woman (1) Man (2) Trans woman (3) Trans man (4)

Gender queer or gender non-conforming (5) Gender fluid (6) Agender (7)

Non-binary (8)

If none of the options above describe you, please specify how you identify (9) [text]

12. Which of the following best describes your sexual identity?

o Heterosexual/straight (1)

o Lesbian (2)

o Gay (3)

o Bisexual (4)

o Pansexual (5)

o Queer (6)

o Asexual (7)

o Unsure/questioning (8)

o If none of the options describe you, please specify how you identify (9) [text]

13. How would you describe your race/ethnicity? (please select all that apply)

▢ African American/Black (1)

▢ Asian American or Pacific Islander American/Asian or Pacific Islander (2)

▢ Latinx or Hispanic/heritage from a Latin American country (3)

▢ Middle Eastern/Arab/Turkish/Iranian (4)

▢ Native American/American Indian/Indigenous (5)

▢ White/Caucasian (6)

▢ If none of the options describe you, please specify how you identify (7) [text]

APPENDIX C: NO INTERVENTION RESULTS TABLES

Experiment 1 Analysis of Variance Results of Vulnerability, Prior Arrest, Youth Sex, and Trafficker Sex on No Intervention Agreement and Certainty Indices

Effect	*MS(error)*	*F*	*df*	*p*	ηp^2
No Intervention Agreement					
Vulnerability	0.91	0.39	1, 661	.532	.001
Prior Arrest	4.51	1.94	1, 661	.165	.003
Youth Sex	4.53	1.94	1, 661	.164	.003
Trafficker Sex	0.03	0.01	1, 661	.917	.000
Prior Arrest * Vulnerability	1.22	0.52	1, 661	.470	.001
Prior Arrest * Youth Sex	2.20	0.94	1, 661	.332	.001
Prior Arrest * Trafficker Sex	2.33	1.00	1, 661	.318	.002
Vulnerability * Youth Sex	3.53	1.51	1, 661	.219	.002
Vulnerability * Trafficker Sex	0.72	0.31	1, 661	.578	.000
Youth Sex * Trafficker Sex	0.89	0.38	1, 661	.536	.001
Prior Arrest * Vulnerability * Youth Sex	3.62	1.55	1, 661	.213	.002
Prior Arrest *Vulnerability * Trafficker Sex	0.77	0.33	1, 661	.565	.001
Prior Arrest * Youth Sex * Trafficker Sex	4.41	1.89	1, 661	.169	.003
Vulnerability * Youth Sex * Trafficker Sex	0.27	0.12	1, 661	.734	.000
Prior Arrest * Vulnerability * Youth Sex * Trafficker Sex	2.34	1.00	1, 661	.317	.002
No Intervention Certainty					
Vulnerability	0.09	0.01	1, 661	.924	.000
Prior Arrest	16.30	1.67	1, 661	.197	.003
Youth Sex	0.30	0.03	1, 661	.861	.000

Trafficker Sex	10.09	1.03	1, 661	.310	.002
Prior Arrest * Vulnerability	6.14	0.63	1, 661	.428	.001
Prior Arrest * Youth Sex	3.98	0.41	1, 661	.523	.001
Prior Arrest * Trafficker Sex	3.72	0.38	1, 661	.537	.001
Vulnerability * Youth Sex	26.15	2.68	1, 661	.102	.004
Vulnerability * Trafficker Sex	1.52	0.16	1, 661	.694	.000
Youth Sex * Trafficker Sex	20.70	2.12	1, 661	.146	.003
Prior Arrest * Vulnerability * Youth Sex	10.61	1.09	1, 661	.298	.002
Prior Arrest *Vulnerability * Trafficker Sex	26.81	2.74	1, 661	.098	.004
Prior Arrest * Youth Sex * Trafficker Sex	19.42	1.99	1, 661	.159	.003
Vulnerability * Youth Sex * Trafficker Sex	0.23	0.02	1, 661	.877	.000
Prior Arrest * Vulnerability * Youth Sex * Trafficker Sex	0.31	0.03	1, 661	.858	.000

Experiment 2 Analysis of Variance Results of Vulnerability, and Emotion Regulation on No Intervention Agreement and Certainty Indices

Effect	*MS(error)*	*F*	*df*	*p*	ηp^2
No Intervention Agreement					
Vulnerability	3.18	1.21	1, 638	.271	.002
Prior Arrest	3.92	1.49	1, 638	.222	.002
Emotion Regulation (ER)	0.43	0.16	3, 638	.921	.001
Vulnerability * Prior Arrest	2.02	0.77	1, 638	.380	.001
Vulnerability * ER	4.80	1.83	3, 638	.141	.009
Prior Arrest * ER	4.49	1.71	3, 638	.163	.008
Vulnerability * Prior Arrest * ER	1.91	0.73	3, 638	.535	.003

No Intervention Certainty					
Vulnerability	0.86	0.09	1, 638	.760	.000
Prior Arrest	0.00	0.00	1, 638	.984	.000
Emotion Regulation (ER)	13.77	1.51	3, 638	.212	.007
Vulnerability * Prior Arrest	0.78	0.09	1, 638	.771	.000
Vulnerability * ER	23.80	2.60	3, 638	.051	.012
Prior Arrest * ER	7.51	0.82	3, 638	.482	.004
Vulnerability * Prior Arrest * ER	15.66	1.71	3, 638	.163	.008